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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

### SPECIAL NOTICE

Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

The new cover colors will be as follows:

CHINA.....	aqua
EAST EUROPE.....	gold
SOVIET UNION.....	salmon
EAST ASIA.....	yellow
NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA...	blue
LATIN AMERICA.....	pink
WEST EUROPE.....	ivory
AFRICA (SUB-SAHARA).....	tan
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY.....	gray
WORLDWIDES.....	pewter

The changes that are of interest to readers of this report are as follows:

USSR reports will become SOVIET UNION reports.

The USSR REPORT: NATIONAL ECONOMY will be titled SOVIET UNION/ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (UEA).

The USSR REPORT: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS will be titled SOVIET UNION/POLITICAL AFFAIRS (UPA).

The following Soviet journals will be added to those which are already issued in separate series:

- EKO: ECONOMICS & ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (UEO)
- THE WORKING CLASS & THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD (UWC)
- PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA (UAA)
- MILITARY HISTORY JOURNAL (UMJ)
- FOREIGN MILITARY REVIEW (UFM)
- AVIATION & COSMONAUTICS (UAC)
- SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES (USS)

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16 JUNE 1987

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READERS VOICE: FEAR OF REPRISALS AS OBSTACLE TO GLASNOST

Reader Defends Anonymity vs Glasnost

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 86 p 4

[Article by A. Zonenko, PRAVDA UKRAINY editor: "Say it to Their Face?: An Invitation to a Discussion"]

[Text] We'll say it straight out: when logging in the letters we receive, it happens that we draw a line through the "name of writer" column.

Why is it that a person decides or does not want to give his name? Indeed, in our society, we are creating an atmosphere of truth and openness which is conducive to civic courage.

However, here are two letters taken from the mail received on one day by the editors. The first is signed at the end of the text, in normal handwriting, with an anonymous flourish. The second is entirely typed in bold letters and even has 13 names at the end.

Read them, dear readers, and write us your views. Share your thoughts. We hope that you will give us your name when you do.

"A Hundred Times Better to Keep Quiet..."

"For a long time, I was undecided whether to write to the paper. But now, finally, I cannot resist. It has become stylish to criticize people who remain anonymous. But how else can you fight against what is wrong? If you speak or write openly, then you will almost be buried alive.

"I will tell you about my own bitter experience. I was working at a state farm nearby. I was a cattle-yard worker at the farm, and my wife was a milker. The apartment we had was bad, and we didn't have any animal shed at all, so that we didn't keep any livestock. We got our milk at the farm legally, that is, we paid for it. And we also bought the rest of our produce.

"During the winter (this was several years ago), milk production fell off at the farm, and this means that our wages fell too: we didn't get hundreds of rubles per month. They called the people together, and a representative from the rayon party committee came. After the meeting, our director took the rayon party worker to the farm. And here he asked me: what do you think about the reasons for the low milk yields? I went ahead and said it: 'They need to filch less mixed feed...' The fact was that anyone walking home from the farm used to haul along a bucketful of mixed feed, to feed to his own livestock. From that time on, they started to look at me sideways. And the woman in charge of the brigade generally advised me to leave. So I did...

"My wife and I are now living in a different way at a neighboring state farm. At home, we are keeping pigs, chickens and ducks, and we are taking everything we can from the farm to feed our animals. During 6 years of living there I have bought a motorcycle with a sidecar and money has appeared in my savings account. And nobody looks at me sideways. If somebody filches something in my presence, I pretend that I don't see. It is a hundred times better to keep quiet than one time to speak out..."

Anonymous Under Somebody Else's Name

"Our collective farm chairman forces people to work without days off. He is reverent to the higher-up leadership, but has a rude attitude toward us and is constantly insulting our human dignity. 'Loafers', 'I'll throw you out', 'lousy farmer', etc. -- these are words from his lexicon.

"Please send a correspondent, let him 'accidentally' make a tape recording of how our group is run, and, in general, unmask our chairman. SERDYUK, NESTERENKO, and others."

From a Memorandum by our Donetsk Oblast Correspondent, N. Ladanovskiy:

"On the basis of the letter from Volnovakhskiy Rayon, I visited the place and met with the people whose names appear at the end of the complaint. All of them threw up their hands in surprise -- they didn't write it, they said. The collective farm workers warmly praised their director. The people are working as they should be, they are earning good money..."

The members of the party buro at the collective farm (we will, of course, not give its precise address in the paper) echo this about the chairman: yes, he is strict, some people don't like him, he is carrying on an uncompromising struggle against drunkenness and theft. These facts, I have determined, are widely and openly discussed.

In the rayon party committee, they consider this farm to be one of the leading ones in the rayon and the collective farm chairman is a respected person.

## Readers Take Sides on Anonymity Issue

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Feb 87 p 4

[Article by A. Zonenko, PRAVDA UKRAINY editor, under the rubric "The Reader: For and Against": "In the Open or on the Sly: Responses to the Letters 'A Hundred Times Better to Keep Quiet' and 'Anonymous Under Somebody Else's Name' (13 Dec 1986)"; first three paragraphs are boxed material]

[Text] One of our earlier errors was extreme impatience with criticism... rereading the materials of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, one is struck by the thought that last December's invitation to our readers to discuss anonymous tip-offs has, in essence, not only not become outdated, but has taken on a particular timeliness.

Inasmuch as we have received an unexpectedly large number of letters, about 50 of them, and because they differ in terms of their authors' positions, we propose not to use all this mail all at once but rather, so to say, in a continuation. Letters containing specific facts of illegality and the suppression of criticism have been sent to local correspondents for investigation and the preparation of reports via this paper. We propose to acquaint you with a part of the interesting letters today. The remaining responses will serve as documentary illustration for topical comments on the subject: where does the anonymous writer come from and what harm does he do?

And so, we give the floor to our readers -- for and against.

Without Signature: Into the Wastebasket!

"As the executive committee chairman of a rural soviet, I sometimes have to deal with anonymous letters, with those which arrive with no signature at all or with only a flourish at the end, and also with those are which are signed with somebody else's name. Very few of them come to the executive committee. But most frequently, surprising as it may be, the facts which are presented in them correspond to reality. However, my attitude toward anonymous letters is extremely negative. Why? I will try to explain.

"It seems to me that, among those who do not sign their "tip-offs", there are few honest, simply bashful, people, and that the two-faced, unscrupulous ones predominate. But even if this is an honest person, even if his heart beats for the public interests, by not signing his name, he communicates only one truth, that his position in no way corresponds to the spirit of frankness and of open struggle with the shortcomings which are not being found everywhere.

"If we give the green light to anonymous reports, we are (whether we want to or not) teaching people to be unprincipled, and also are not taking into account the damage that such tip-offs cause honest working people. Indeed, it happens fairly frequently that it is honest people, in particular, who suffer, whose futures are broken apart, and whose health is undermined in this situation. I am not even talking about the material costs borne by the state in establishing and sending commissions to investigate statements which frequently have no basis.

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"On the other hand, the anonymous author, rubbing his hands, smiles maliciously as he looks at the fuss that has been raised. And he is not smiling without reason. He knows in advance that he is not threatened by any sort of punishment for the slander he has concocted. It is true that the law envisages criminal responsibility for slander, but...it is difficult to recall a case when even an obvious slanderer has been held accountable.

"I think that it is necessary to combat anonymous authors. And this struggle will have results only if no attention is paid by anybody to letters without signatures. So, I am for the slogan "Anonymous Letters -- into the Wastebasket!". Yu. GAYDASH, Chairman of the Chudnov village soviet executive committee, Zhitomir Oblast.

#### "An Honest Anonymous Letter"

"The words "anonymous author" and "slanderer" are often equated, an equals sign is placed between them. And, it must be said, this is not without basis. Indeed, the anonymous letter is a convenient weapon in the hands of slanderers and the envious.

"But not all unsigned tip-offs are the same. Among them there are nonest, accurate letters which objectively provide information concerning the state of affairs in local areas. Such a source of information should not be lumped together with concoctions of a slanderous nature that are written in a feeling of vengeance, ill-will or envy.

"I still remember an honest anonymous letter which I received many years ago, when I was working in the rayon's procuracy. They had assigned me, a novice investigator, to handle three criminal cases which involved the theft of agricultural machinery. I had not succeeded in finding the criminals. Then, at a reporting and election meeting of collective farm workers in the village of Ivanchana, I asked those present to help me uncover the thieves. Several days later, a letter came to the procuracy, in which the necessary coordinates were indicated. Can it really be said that the writer of this anonymous letter was a slanderer?

"It is not an easy thing for a whistle-blower when, on the basis of his valid tip, a criminal case is instituted and an investigation is carried out. The accused person, of course, will try everything to deny it. Face-to-face accusations and other investigative actions will be required. And if the whistle-blower is an unpretentious, diffident person, who doesn't possess a sufficient supply of courage, then he will find it difficult, will feel uncomfortable, to be locked in single combat with an insolent and lying defendant. And he will remember this for a long time. Therefore, the next time he sees violations and abuses, he will quickly decide not to talk aloud about them and, inasmuch as his conscience will not permit him to remain silent, he will write an anonymous tip. And an honest anonymous letter-writer is certainly better than an indifferent contemplator.

"To be more 'convincing', some slanderers cook up collective anonymous letters. They think that the more names there are, the more it will be



believed. But a lie always remains a lie, no matter in what finery it is dressed. I am certain that the time is not far off when all honest citizens will write only in their own names concerning violations they have noticed." M. SHEVCHIK, jurist, Ternopol.

#### It is Better to Keep Quiet

"I live in a rayon center -- in Tsarichanka. There are two stores here on ulitsa Kirova, a food store and a furniture store. Conflicts have frequently arisen between sales people and customers in the food store, mainly on the grounds that they have not sold the good products to everyone.

"Somebody said: 'We've got to write to the proper person about this.' They asked me. 'You,' they said, 'will get better results.' Well, I wrote, with my own name. And, as should have been done, I sent it to the rayon consumers union. When they investigated and talked with the customers, all of them suddenly denied it: they said that there was no such thing. And I was left as the 'guilty' one. Now the salespeople greet me, as they say, with bayonets.

"Later, I took the risk of advising the communications administration about a drunken postman who was taking some "pay" for himself for delivering pension payments to a soldier's widow. As you might guess, there was nothing but unpleasantness for me from all this. And moreover -- from this very same widow.

Now, I never write to anybody about anything. And I understand anonymous letter writers: I have written without a signature -- and without any kind of responsibility. S. BAGNICH, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

#### Hide Behind Somebody Else

"For me, a working person, it is generally strange to read about anonymous letter writers. We don't have this rot in our collective. One acquaintance it is true, did say: you are still young and don't know life. But I argued with him and, it seems, we did see eye to eye on one thing -- in the interests of things, moreover in a society where democratic principles are being developed and expanded, it is absolutely necessary to act in the open, honestly and not from behind a corner.

"Mistakes and miscalculations can accompany even the best beginnings. I know this on the basis of my former work. And I know occasions when some people have only taken note of shortcomings and have been stubbornly unwilling to take part in their elimination. And then, someone who imagines himself to be fighter for justice feels a desire to strike a blow, from around a corner, at the very heart of the labor collective. Such a 'benefactor', taking advantage of roughness in our important and necessary beginnings, bides his time, collects few facts, and writes ... These anonymous letters batter the solidarity of the collective, the trust of people in one another, their faith in the success of the transformations which have been begun.

"Of course, it is simpler to stay in the shadows, to hide behind someone else, having slandered one's colleagues and having sown distrust within a

collective. It is far more complicated to assume responsibility, to display courage and persistence, having joined battle with bad management and various sorts of violations. Yes, this is much more difficult...

"It is important that, in a labor collective, the proposals of workers are listened to. That the rank and file worker really feels that he is the master of his enterprise. And the proposals themselves must be precise and must be, to a maximum extent, clear and realistically workable. At least in our brigade, we discuss everything together and, then and there, decide whether a proposal is worthwhile or not -- no matter whether it concerns questions of flight security or the conditions and work and rest." G. GOLODNYAK, airport services brigade chief at Zhulyana Airport, Kiev.

#### Not Truth-Lovers, but Self-Seekers

"This is the only thing you can call writers of anonymous letters. I am particularly offended by the 'creed' of the self-seeker that 'it is a hundred times better to keep quiet...' The mercenary ways of the author are evident at every step, when he and his wife didn't have an animal shed and were not keeping any kind of animals. From this, one concludes that then they had no reason to haul mixed feed and other things away from the farm. At the neighboring farm, where they moved, they are themselves stealing as much as they can.

'This loathsome philosophy surfaces when the author declares that he isn't the only one stealing. This means that they are covering up for one another at the farm. However, I don't believe that there are only thieves at the state farm. Of course, someone will be found there, who will really tell the truth directly, not in the way the authors of the two letters printed in PRAVDA UKRAINY did. It's too bad that I don't have the chance to tell the 'truth-lover' to his face everything that I think about him.

Today, when each of us must work at full steam, creatively, we simply must have openness. We must correct all our shortcomings. Therefore, it is a hundred times better to speak out, than it is, one time, to keep quiet." G.GONCHARENKO, worker at the Sumy Khimprom production association.

#### Anonymity-Glasnost Debate Continues

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 Mar 87 p 2

[Continuing article: "About Glasnost -- In a Whisper?: The Reader -- For and Against"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] We are continuing our discussion, initiated with the letters "It's a Hundred Times Better to Keep Quiet..." and "Anonymous Under Somebody Else's Name" (13 Dec 86) and "In the Open or On the Sly? (19 Feb 87).

Inasmuch as responses are coming in (there have already been more than 60), a decision was reached to continue our discussion of the letters which we published. With increasing frequency, people of various ages and professions are no longer addressing the narrow question but, rather, the problem which



was phrased as follows by the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum: To learn to work under conditions of democracy. For everyone -- both managers who have grown unaccustomed to criticism from below, to openness, as well as rank-and-file workers -- to learn not to be afraid to speak the truth, to stand up for their own positions. Under the condition, of course, that it is necessary, regularly, to put a stop both to all forms of suppression of criticism and to the attempts of slanderers to blacken the names of honest workers dedicated to what they are doing and to settle personal accounts by resorting to anonymous letters and other unworthy methods.

#### Tell Your Name

"We ask ourselves the question: Who are these people whom the press is taking under its protection? And likewise, those who are speaking the truth straight out and then are paying for this. They did not conceal either their names or their addresses in their letters. And they dealt with them afterwards.

"This is why anonymous letters are coming to the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines and to organs of people's control. People are still afraid to sign their names, because they know that it won't be good for them if they do.

"I agree with the jurist M. Shevchik from Ternopol that the time is not far off when all honest citizens will write only in their own names about shortcomings they have noticed. And, in the meantime, I would allow the authors of tips, who decide not to sign their own names, to put down a pseudonym. And, at the same time, let us say, for the editors or for the procuracy, to honestly give their own first name, patronymic and family name and their place of work or residence -- with the request that this not be publicized." A. OVOD, war and labor veteran, Priluki, Chernigov Oblast.

#### The Truth about the Director

"Over the years, many officials have become so used to sitting in their arm chairs that, now, the only thing they will say is: 'Please, Come into my office.'

"In general, they think that restructuring doesn't concern them; let people 'adjust' to them. Among them, there are ones who, by hook and by crook, have succeeded in subordinating a considerable part of the collective to themselves and in intimidating the rest. And if one or two honest workers, having grown tired of this tyranny, find it necessary to appeal to someone, then the director settles accounts with them later. And so, some authors of anonymous letters find it necessary to hide behind the signature 'A. M.' or 'K.P.'.

"It seems to me that newspaper editorial offices, in reading an 'honest anonymous letter' should be able to distinguish it from another anonymous letter. Indeed, one anonymous letter differs from another. M. KHOMENKO, teacher, Kazatin, Vinnitsa Oblast."

## A Sense of Civic Spirit

"I am happy to share my thoughts with regard to the letters 'A Hundred Times Better to Keep Quiet...' and 'Anonymous Under Someone Else's Name'. I will say right away that their authors are different in terms of character and habits. What they have in common is a lack of civic spirit and of responsibility to themselves. The question of whether a position of 'truth, face to face' is a valuable quality for a person to have, is just as debatable as is 'living with your eyes closed'. Indeed, these are both extremes.

"It is easiest of all to note deficiencies and to talk about them, or merely to be distressed by them. An agricultural expert sees that a field is full of tall weeds, or a mechanic sees that machinery is rusting out in the open air. But, for purposes of clearing the field of weeds or of saving the equipment, wishes or words alone are of little use. Work is needed.

"Turning to the authors of the letters, about them, I say that it can be easily understood that the cattle-yard worker was wrong when he expressed his opinion to a worker of the rayon party committee while earlier having done precisely nothing to find out such things himself or to oppose the thefts and those who were closing their eyes to them. Moreover, he was wrong when he became a thief, because he considered this route to be easier.

"The author of the second letter suggests that correspondents more frequently familiarize themselves with the situation on the local level and, at the same time, does not identify himself. It is no secret that there are still directors who, to their chiefs, are lambs, and, to their subordinates, are wolves. A struggle is being carried out against such as they. But not in this regard alone. It seems to me that, in order to eliminate the negative consequences of anonymous letters, it is necessary to undertake measures on a national scale. It is necessary to ensure that anonymous slanderers do not terrorize honest people." Yu. PILIPCHUK, secretary, Klesov rural soviet executive committee, Sarnenskiy Rayon, Rovno Oblast.

## Nursing a Grievance

"My name is Ivan Filipovich, my signature is written at the end of this letter. I subscribe steadily to PRAVDA UKRAINY and follow its interesting comments from readers.

"And now an anonymous author writes that, if you tell the truth, you will, as it were, be 'buried alive'. He doesn't present facts. Except, perhaps, it is a fact, even if he is frightened of what he has said, that they are stealing mixed feed at the farm. How can you believe him, if he has become the same kind of thief in another village?

"And that a director, having heard the truth spoken face-to-face, is capable of making note of the author. This happens often. In a village, a person doesn't get away scot free. He has his home, and his land, and his work there -- where can he go?

"But I don't like the anonymous letter writer. He does more harm than good. Like the gopher -- he crawls out of his burrow, whistles, and goes back down his hole, and you sort out what's what.

"And here's something else: Why did the cattle-yard worker not keep livestock at home? What was he counting on? On shipping sausage from the city, or on stealing something at the collective farm? People in the countryside must keep a cow, piglets, and chickens and must demand that they supply feeds. Here then is a complaint that can be written with a signature, if they don't help." I. PRINTSEVSKIY, war and labor veteran, village of Malinovka, Volnovakhskiy Rayon, Donets Oblast.

#### Tried to Speak Out

"I am on a pension, but I work. I have lived a long life. I took part in the war. When we had put an end to the devastation, people gradually began to forget the grief and trouble. And then they started to get rich, which they are still doing today.

"Earlier, it was possible to work hand in hand with a master, with a shop chief to overcome difficulties: both joys and sorrows were shared. Now they only 'push' you. If something is not done, they don't give bonuses. On the other hand, the leadership doesn't want to lose them. I worked in the Crimea in a sulfate plant. I spoke out at a meeting: we are receiving undeserved bonuses, I said. I had to leave, it can be said, in disgrace. Now, you can bet, I keep quiet: I have grown wiser. However, I sign my name; all the same, I am not a coward." P. BELINSKIY, carpenter, settlement of Armyansk, Krym Oblast.

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CSO: 1800/483

## MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

### TURKMEN TELEVISION DEPARTMENT REORGANIZES

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 28 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 700-word article by A. Saparov, secretary of the Primary Party Organization of Turkmen television, on changes which have recently taken place in television programming; the article is headlined "We Learn From Mistakes". Noting that at the accounting meeting of communists a lack of openness in cadre selection and placement, violations of work discipline and irresponsibility were revealed at department chief and editorial levels, he adds that "in the course of the last two months twelve editors have been appointed to leadership positions". He points out further that "in this context we can cite the example of a new program, 'Let's talk openly', which is prepared by the propaganda editorial board. Program participants exchanged ideas on the persistence of bride-price in the republic and ways to overcome it. The talk aroused the interest of television viewers. The letters sent to the editor by viewers prove this".

### TURKMEN PRESS REACTS TO WESTERN RADIO PROPAGANDA

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen 22 February 1987 carries on page 1 a 1800-word article by J. Jumagulyyev, director of the No 21 secondary school in Chardzhou, headlined "We are teaching relentlessness towards bourgeois ideology and propaganda". Describing efforts to indoctrinate students into the goals of "bourgeois radio stations", he claims that these "have begun to devote a great deal of attention to conducting work among youths who lack experience. We have posed the question: What objectives are Western countries pursuing in strengthening bourgeois ideology? Each of those present answers the question for himself. To summarize the answers: Firstly, they are trying to convince youth of the superiority of the capitalistic system, its invulnerability and the attraction of the ideals and rules of bourgeois society; secondly, they are attempting to denigrate socialism, to establish that it is imperfect and unacceptable to man". A second article attacking Western radio broadcasts appears on 4 February 1987, page 2, by B. Basarov, director of the Pedagogy and Psychology Department at the M. Gor'kiy Turkmen State University, headlined "Let's perfect internationalist education" on causes underlying ethnic prejudices among Soviet youth. He notes that when students get together "questions are often asked about what tribe, rayon or oblast does someone come from?" He points out that "while everyone represents the 'hill on which he was born', one finds tendencies to say demeaning, tactless,

unpleasant words to some people" and adds that while some students learn ethnic prejudices from their homes or their milieu, these tendencies are also reinforced by foreign radio: "Foreign radio propaganda especially reinforces tribalistic thoughts and nationalistic ideas in teenagers which are then disseminated as the most petty kinds of jokes".

/12858

CSO: 1835/413



HISTORIAN TYUTYUKIN VIEWS DEMANDS OF RESTRUCTURING

PM061521 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 May 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Doctor of Historical Sciences Stanislav Vasilyevich Tyutyukin replies to IZVESTIYA's questions under the rubric "October. Restructuring. Us": "Respect for One's Own History"]

[Text] His career as an historian is impressive: He went to school in Moscow, studied at the Moscow State University history department, and is a post-graduate of the Institute of History. The revolution in Russia has been his main research theme. He has dedicated monographs and a host of articles in collective works to it.

Doctor of Historical Sciences Stanislav Vasilyevich Tyutyukin now answers IZVESTIYA's written questions.

[IZVESTIYA] The changes that are taking place in our society have been called revolutionary. Where do you see the continuity between the cause of October and the fundamental transformations occurring today?

[Tyutyukin] The boldness of the transformations and reliance on the masses and their will, reason, courage, and sense of social justice links restructuring with October. Just as in the days of the October Revolution, communists are again in the front ranks of the fighters for innovation. Restructuring is being carried out for the sake of strengthening socialism and cleansing it of everything corrupt, philistine, and bureaucratic. In October 1917 the greatest people's revolution in world history took place in our country. Today, too, the people are taking part in restructuring under the party's leadership. This is the main guarantee of success.

[IZVESTIYA] What moral lesson and practical conclusion should be drawn, in your view, from the experience of recent decades and from the assessments of the party Central Committee's January Plenum?

[Tyutyukin] Everyone now agrees that among our shortages--the acute, painful shortages which aroused legitimate protest--was a shortage of truth. Truth about the present day and truth about history, since the one is inseparable from the other. One can spend a long time theorizing about what constitutes the truth, but everyone understands that we cannot



investigate the reality around us or history if our ideas do not tally with the real state of affairs or if we pretend that phenomena which we do not like simply do not exist.

Of course, one can learn--as happened quite a lot not only in the seventies but even earlier--to "play" at the truth and to issue it in doses in response to the leadership's demands or in accordance with one's own personal interests. That was what happened: We sincerely believed that this approach benefited the cause and corresponded to society's social demands and that its results would be used for people's good.

As a result it became customary to "rewrite" the history of recent decades and in particular the history of the Great Patriotic War. This was not a matter of a scientifically natural expansion or some reevaluation of historical material on the basis of unearthing new sources but of especially short-term adjustments.

Our historical works contain no profound or balanced assessments of the activity of I.V. Stalin, N.S. Khrushchev, L.I. Brezhnev, or other party and state figures. In this connection one can understand why the publication of volumes in the Soviet series "The History of the USSR from Ancient Times to the Present Day" [Istoriya SSSR ot drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney] dragged on for a full 20 years and is still not complete today.

Disrespect for one's own history--and such a verdict is surely possible--also affected some of its more remote periods. The vacuum that formed was rapidly filled by foreign bourgeois and social reformist historiography which, for all its outward objectivism, often treats the history of pre-revolutionary Russia (and Soviet Russian history even more so) in an indiscriminate and anticommunist vein.

I am certainly not thinking of denying Soviet historians' considerable achievements or of depicting the seventies and the first half of the eighties as a time of complete stagnation in science or of indiscriminately accusing all historians of opportunism [prisposoblenchestvo], careerism, "cunning," and other vices. Ultimately history, including the history of science, has never yet known periods which were entirely "positive" or "negative." We have here talented historians, fine documentary publications, and thorough scientific research into both our history and world history. Nevertheless, it will be no exaggeration to say that a grave discrepancy has arisen between our people's interest in history, which has increased sharply and is continuing to grow, and the ability of professional historians to satisfy that interest.

What we are witnessing is a certain crisis of confidence in historical science, the inability of historians to gain the reader's sympathy, and a decline in the historian's social status. The paradox is that we are talking about the most attractive, appealing, outstanding, and instructive social science without which it is impossible to foster a sense of love for the motherland and a sense of being master of one's own country and heir to its great traditions!

The time has come to cleanse history of various accretions and distortions and to restore its civic spirit, integrity, and courage. Furthermore, it is necessary to put an end to irresponsibility, negligence, the mindless mouthing of cliches, and superficiality, of which historical science also has more than enough. The party urges us to do that, and that is the purpose of restructuring on the historical front.

[IZVESTIYA] Which of Lenin's behests and tenets do you consider particularly relevant today? What do you appreciate about them?

[Tyutyukin] Leninism cannot be reduced to isolated quotations. Nevertheless, I should like to recall one of V.I. Lenin's comments at the 11th Party Congress, held a year after the switch to the New Economic Policy [NEP]. "We have not ceased to be revolutionaries yet (even though many people are saying, even with some justification, that we have become more bureaucratic), and we can understand this simple fact that in new and unusually difficult work one has to be able to begin from the beginning several times over: You begin, you meet obstacles, so you begin again, and you try again a dozen times and you get what you want, but do not put on airs and graces or be arrogant about being a communist..."

You will agree, this sounds as though it had been written today. Even though it is conventional to compare the present-day restructuring with the NEP, the fearless acknowledgment of difficulties and mistakes, self-criticism, and belief in the people's strength retain their topicality. And, paradoxical as it may sound at first, on the threshold of the 70th anniversary of Soviet power we must now prove by our deeds and precisely by our deeds that we have not ceased to be revolutionaries.

It is typical that, at a time when the West is advising us to end the "cult of Lenin," restructuring has understandably caused in our country a new wave of the most keen and sincere interest in everything linked with the name of a leader who was never affected by the sins of megalomania or pride committed by many of his successors in the supreme party and state posts. And it is for that very reason that he remains our banner and our weapon.

[IZVESTIYA] What can you personally do, what would you like to do, and what are you actually doing toward restructuring? What obstacles occur here, and where do you find allies and opponents? Are you satisfied with the pace of restructuring?

[Tyutyukin] I am an ordinary scientific worker. Thus I have to engage not so much in general discussions about restructuring on the scale of historical science in general as in the implementation of it in my work place. We are now preparing a new, enlarged edition of the book "The Working Class in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907" [Rabochiy klass v pervoy rossiyskoy revolyutsii 1905-1907 gg]. There is much responsible work to be done on the three-volume history of that revolution, which will be the first collective work of its type and size in Soviet historiography. We are trying to put into practice in it those principles which have been proclaimed during restructuring.

Historians face quite a few difficulties. They are connected with the (often artificially) restricted access to archive and documentary, primarily statistical, sources, poor printing facilities (many of our works spend years "waiting in line"), and the complex interrelations with publishing house workers. These questions are not new, but they have still not been resolved.

Of course I should like restructuring to proceed faster. The climate in scientific collectives is improving only slowly (sometimes it even deteriorates). It is distressing that there is much demagoguery in the course of restructuring and, unfortunately, instances of personal score settling.

[IZVESTIYA] On cadres: Who is setting the tone now and, in your view, how strong are the positions of those whose interests are served by the preservation of the old?

[Tyutyukin] The success of restructuring will depend to a large extent on the influx of fresh leading cadres. The general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences in March this year adopted a number of important decisions on this question which were received positively by the majority of scientific workers. I would not like their implementation to be shelved. The difficulty is still that a high level of professionalism is not always combined with the high general culture and lofty moral qualities without which a real scientific leader cannot exist. Thus, when resolving cadre questions broad openness is necessary and competition among several candidates for the leading post is desirable. I am not sure that directors of academic institutions, their deputies, or sector chiefs should be elected by the collective at general meetings, but their appointment against the will of those with whom they will have to work would be a great mistake.

[IZVESTIYA] In your view, who are the time-servers now and why, and what should be done to ensure that the ideas of restructuring, which have gripped the masses, become a material force and truly the cause of everyone?

[Tyutyukin] I would say that in historical science and, probably, in science as a whole the "time-servers" still outnumber the active champions of restructuring, although everyone speaks in favor of it, of course. The reasons for this are many--both objective (science must be restructured cautiously) and subjective reasons. Some people adapted quite well to the old conditions, and they are frightened by openness (it could prove as bogus as the "emperor's new clothes") and the prospect of intensive and strenuous work and the need to really resolve major scientific questions instead of merely "posing" them. Others--and there are a very large number of them--are awaiting authoritative explanations and instructions because they have lost the habit of independent thought and action. Still others believe that it is best for the time being "not to take risks", because they could fall flat on their faces. There are also those who do not like what is at present the comparatively modest scale of material incentive offered by the new work regime and who are offended (in a number of cases, rightly so) by the results of last year's recertification of scientific cadres.

The unpardonable delay in resolving questions which have long been urgent also has an adverse effect on people's attitudes. For example, this is not the first year that people here have been talking about the need to convene an all-union historians' conference (the last one was held 25 years ago), about the publication of a popular scientific journal on history, or about setting up a USSR Historical Society. This has been discussed many times in the press, including by IZVESTIYA, no one objects in principle, but no progress has yet been made.

The old organizational structures which have long since lost the necessary flexibility persist almost unchanged in scientific institutions even though scientists themselves are proposing increasingly often that, at least as an experiment, intersectoral and even interinstitutional creative groups of specialists be created to resolve the major problems facing the humanities on the best possible time scale.

There is one solution to the situation which has been created: To give real support to the pacemakers of restructuring and to hurry along those leaders who are too "complacent." Success can be guaranteed only by a pooling of efforts from the top and from the bottom, and there must be no belittling of the role of either the "grass roots" or the "elite."

[IZVESTIYA] On the question of young people: It has become the custom to lament the social passivity of the young. How are the current processes affecting the character of the new generation? What do you expect from your children, how do they support you, and in what do they differ from you?

[Tyutyukin] Every society gets the kind of young people it raises. So there is no point in affecting the pose of an aloof observer who just repeats in the manner of Lermontov's artilleryman: "Yes, they were men in our day, not like the present breed..." That approach is very weak and, most important, unproductive.

For a very long time we relaxed and closed our eyes to the indifference to politics, egoism, moral laxity, and bourgeois manners of many young people. Now we have begun speaking openly about this. What is to be done next? There are no time-tested remedies yet. One thing is clear: Neither administrative pressure, nor prohibition, nor smooth-tongued flattery of young people will benefit them or society as a whole. Lenin's great behest remains valid: It is only in labor and in the common work of building a communist society that a new generation will be born, convinced of the historical rightness of communism, ready and able to defend it by word and by deed and, if necessary, with arms.

Much work has to be done here by Marxist-Leninist social sciences. Young people want to be spoken to face to face; they want their elders not to avoid answering the big questions but to convince them by means of facts, not mere quotations. Only someone who is convinced himself can convince others. Let us ask ourselves honestly: Are we really so sure of everything that we say from our platforms or write in textbooks?



Now a few words about young scientists. There are still too few of them in academic institutions in the humanities. For instance, at the USSR Institute of History, where I work, the average age of staffers is over 40, for candidates of sciences it is over 50, and for doctors it is over 60. It is true, of course, that historians "mature" later than the representatives of many other scientific disciplines: The necessary erudition takes years to acquire. However, that does not justify the present situation.

Previously young people were recruited mainly by expanding the staffs of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A new and extremely delicate problem is now arising: For a young scientist to be able to join an academic collective a scientist of the older generation has to make way for him. But that is hard, bitter, and painful to do. The solution, it seems to me, is to substantially increase the pension scale for scientific workers, to create a flexible system of work on contract principles, and to considerably expand the opportunities for using the experience and knowledge of scientists of pensionable age. At the same time, when settling the question of when people should make way for the young, we must all be more sober in approaching the assessment of our own abilities and our real contribution to science and consult with our own consciences more frequently.

[IZVESTIYA] What guarantees are needed to ensure that restructuring becomes irreversible? What, in your opinion, should the state, society, and each one of us do?

[Tyutyukin] There must be real support for restructuring at all levels, an atmosphere of intolerance must be created around its opponents, and a number of new laws must be passed and many old ones revised. It is important to ensure that the pace of restructuring does not slacken but, on the contrary, quickens and that leaders, including those in science, set a greater personal example of restructuring. And, of course, we must not forget the lessons of history. Both ancient and the not-so-ancient history. Each of us, our society, and the state need to revive them and reflect on them, particularly at the kind of turning points that we are now experiencing. It was not we who noted that an inquisitive, honest look at the past helps to avoid the repetition of mistakes in the future.

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N 1 TEXTBOOK INTERPRETS CENTRAL ASIAN HISTORY

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen 6 February 1987 carries on page 3 a 1200-word review by T. Myradgeldiyev, senior teacher in the USSR history faculty at the M. Gorkiy Turkmen State University of Academician (Kirghizistan SSR) A.A. Izmaylov's "Studying the culture of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the USSR history course for the 8-10th classes" (Prosveshcheniye, Moscow, 1986); the review is headlined "A text on an important theme". In the book's first chapter, "Culture of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the XIXth century", "the great progressive role played in the life of the people by their merger into Russia, despite the reactionary policy of Russian tsarism, is demonstrated broadly". The reviewer, while praising the book, complains that "it would have been better" if it had given more attention to the development of education and art in the TSSR.

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## WRITERS' UNION PLENUM SPEECHES

## Belorussia's Gilevich Speaks

PM061354 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 2

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Nil Gilevich (Belorussia) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Text] The restructuring, and above all the creative restructuring, is at present proceeding only feebly for us in Belorussia. Not only is it failing to gather speed, it even seems to have had second thoughts: Is it worth while?... Is it worth emerging from apathy, indifference, and complacency? A few strong and biting poems, in the spirit of the time, from Pimen Panchenko is too little for the required antithesis. One convincing example. Exactly a year ago a great disaster hit the Polesye. A whole year has passed, but there is no evidence that it has stirred up or shaken our writers, that there has been a marked increase in concern, grief, or anxiety in their writing. It is not a question of despair or panic. But nor can we write, a year after Chernobyl, as if nothing had happened, as if we had not been given a lesson of the most profound social and public significance. As if it had not become many times clearer to us what is virtue and what is ignominy, how we should and should not conduct our affairs.

In this connection, a very brief word about a "trivial" aspect of our creative life--conscience. I wrote about this 5 years ago in a current affairs book, "The Call of Life and the Times" ["Zov Zhizni i Vremeni"], so please forgive me for quoting: "Our literature is on the threshold of a new, higher understanding of its moral duty. The conditions are reaching maturity in which conscience will have its say far more than only recently, more than yesterday or even today. The symptoms of this change for the better can already be felt, the signs are already in evidence. Everything is moving in this direction--toward the more tangible dominion of human, civic, communist conscience in all our society's spiritual life, and above all in literature and art." This change is, of course, not to the liking of those who do not understand what it means to live and act according to your conscience. It is unfortunate if they include the patrons of the literary process, book publishers, who have the power to influence the fate of a book and even of an author. But it is even worse, an even greater disaster, when the writer himself disregards his conscience, betrays his convictions, his moral principles. When he consciously speaks and writes untruths. That, it seems to me, is what we should be thinking about above all today.

In recent party documents the emphasis has rightly been on the need to strengthen international education in our multinational socialist fatherland. This question--international education in present-day conditions--is a major and complex one, but we have no right to avoid it, it is an integral part of the overall task of restructuring society's spiritual life. It is always rather risky to talk about this--you cannot cover every aspect of the subject in a brief speech, yet if you talk about just one aspect biased comrades can accuse you of a narrow, one-sided view. Countless times I have asked myself: Is it possible for a national nihilist who has no respect for his people's culture and language to be a true internationalist, or indeed a worthwhile citizen at all? I have turned, in my thoughts, to some highly intelligent and educated people, but I will quote the words of just one of the most cultured Russian writers of the Soviet era--K.G. Paustovskiy: "From every person's attitude to his own language you can judge absolutely accurately not only his cultural level, but also his merit as a citizen. True love for your country is inconceivable without love for your language. A person who is indifferent to his native tongue is a barbarian. He is harmful by his very nature, because his indifference to the language is due to the utmost indifference to the past, present, and future of his people."

But unfortunately we are still producing a good many national nihilists. So many of my young compatriots embark on conscious life without national consciousness, not knowing their native tongue, not interested in national artistic literature, culture, the history of their people. Naturally, it is these young people, sexless in terms of nationality, who form a milieu in which all kinds of ideological filth can more easily gain a foothold, in which it is easier for aspirituality, banality, and cynicism to flourish and unpatriotic sentiments to develop.

A month ago we at the Belorussian SSR Writers' Union summed up the results of a "Book Week," and nearly all the guests who spoke referred to one discovery which had very much distressed them. They had learned that in Belorussia's capital, Minsk, in all the oblast centers, and in all the cities and even urban settlements in the republic, there is scarcely a single Belorussian school. English, French, Spanish, yes--but Belorussian, no.

That is the language situation in Belorussia today, a situation which has arisen both for objective reasons and for subjective, voluntarist reasons. Those are the facts, from which, as everyone knows, there is no escape, although we have grown used to ignoring them. Believe me, there is nothing more mortifying than to speak of this before our fine fraternity. But it must be spoken of. After all, it is an inescapable truth that without language, there is and can be no literature. The artistic standard of a work depends directly on the writer's linguistic skill, the richness and liveliness of his vocabulary, how natural his sentences sound. Where and how can a Belorussian writer enrich and improve his working language? After all, a national language develops in natural conditions--in daily life, in the family, in people's production relations. But what if these conditions for its development do not exist?

What are the prospects for a major national literature, and indeed for Belorussian culture as a whole, if language is a crucial element in culture? As you will, I hope, realize, for us this is the ultimate question today. We are profoundly concerned about the language situation that has arisen in Belorussia. But is our concern only our concern?

Mutual understanding and mutual respect, and, if necessary, mutual assistance among all the national detachments of the union's writers--that is the law of our life, of our fraternity. Recently we Belorussian writers and all Belorussian cultural patriots experienced a moment when suddenly, with moving clarity, we felt how fine a thing it is, our truly international mutual understanding. I refer to the modest publication in the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of poems by the great Belorussian democrat and poet Ales Garun and an article about him under the rubric "Centennial of his Birth." I suppose the majority of you attached no special significance to this publication--it is in the order of things, you might say, especially since the poems are remarkable and the poet's creative career was tragic in the full sense of the word. But this publication was no ordinary event. First, for nearly 60 years now Ales Garun's creative work has lain silent--not a single book of his has been published in Belorussia since the late twenties; second, here in the poet's homeland we were not able to mark the centennial of his birth. For the same old reasons, not yet overcome, of stagnation and dogmatism. That is why, from this lofty platform, I want to express heartfelt gratitude to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA for its help. But I must also talk about what saddens us in our unionwide literary press and in the activity of the union's board.

I have a request to make, and please understand me correctly: Trust us more in resolving questions, do not think that you know best about the people and the state of affairs in the republic. Prestige trips always for the same comrades, the generous presentation of all kinds of prizes to them, a constant merry-go-round of brief appearances always for the same three or four people from our whole great literature, and, conversely, keen criticism in the press or silence for others who are no less or even more talented--as experience shows, all these things are by no means harmless. If, for instance, someone makes use of the all-union press for a negative subjectivist assessment of a little-known colleague from the republic, the injured party can hardly reply from an equally lofty platform. And he remains injured. And a sense of injury leads to nothing but spite and enmity. One wonders: Why all this? For what reason, brothers, do we take such pains?

Now for some particular practical questions, which are, however, very important for the development of our literature. A single solitary "first slim volume" of poetry will come off the presses in Belorussia in 1988. One--from the 10-million-strong Belorussian land! Yet a minimum of 10 young people could publish their poems! And of those 10, if you wait and see, 2 or 3 would grow into real poets! But there is no room for these 10 beginners. No room! To make room for them, it is necessary to crowd out 10 known or even illustrious poets. But can that really be so? And it is

not the solution. Why must a young person necessarily be published in someone else's place, if his new book is awaited by the readers?

It is 25 years now since we had the idea of publishing a little library from the journal MALADOSTS: 12 first slim volumes of poetry, prose, and drama a year. How simple and cheap it looks! Alas! In 25 years there has not been a single congress or plenum of the republic's writers where the need for such a form of publication has not been discussed, where a resolution has not been adopted to make a request to the appropriate bodies... But the library still does not exist!

Or take another example. Around 10 years ago the size of our journals, the publications of the Belorussian Writers' Union, was reduced (there were difficulties with paper). That naturally had a negative effect on the quality of the printing and artistic presentation of the journals, which, in turn, led to a fall in print runs: It is difficult and unpleasant to read small print. Now the country's paper problem has been resolved, but we cannot make up our minds to go back to the former size of journals. Yet we have long needed a new journal! The republic Writers' Union has trebled in size in the last 35 years, yet over those 35 years there has been no increase in the number of thick literary-artistic journals published in the Belorussian language.

After all I have said, it will be clear why Belorussian literary people were excited when they heard about the setting up of a cooperative publishing house in Moscow. The writers pose the direct question: Will we be permitted to do the same?

Personally, I would like to say this: If there is no other solution, I too am in favor of a cooperative publishing house. But at the same time I feel some sense of injury and even shame. Injury and shame on behalf of our native state. After all, first of all let us tell ourselves frankly: What does this mean? It means that the state is admitting to its own impotence and capitulating to its own cumbersome creation, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade. Even in the conditions of restructuring, it cannot put things right. A state publishing house is not capable of turning a manuscript into a book in 3 to 6 months, but an independent, that is, cooperative publisher could!

Book publishing has become bureaucratic to the point of absurdity, risibility. In order to publish a handful of poems by a young poet it takes at best 3 years, and sometimes, 5, even 7 years, as in the fairy tales. But have people not been laughing stocks for long enough? It is high time to start respecting ourselves--our great country and its great culture!

#### Rozov on Nationalities Issues

PM071532 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 3

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Viktor Rozov (Moscow) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]



[Text] I did not intend to talk about this, but the previous speech [by Yuriy Sergeyev, deploring the effects of rock music and mass culture on young people] not only displeased me, but simply frightened me. I am very fond of young people, and how often, in my life, have I heard people say: "You can't... You wouldn't dare... That hair... Those pants..." When will it all end, once and for all!

We need to find out why young people "go off" to form these groups, many of which I do not like either. And how can we bring them back into the fold? But we must conduct this struggle by new methods, without resorting to the old tactics of imposing bans.

There have always been new dances. And when the tango and the foxtrot first came out, the grown-ups shook their heads and said very unkind things about us. In roughly the same way that Yu. Sergeyev has spoken today about today's young people. But all of us went to the front as volunteers, many died, and some survived. Can one really judge young people so superficially?...

Let me speak about something else. Criticism.

Once again we want something highly organized, we want to organize criticism. Only recently our critics were in a difficult position. How were they supposed to contend with authors, good authors, but authors who were armored like the knights of old, in helmets, with shields and lances at the ready, with lofty titles, awards, and posts. And the critics in mufti!

Now the times are bringing about many changes. They are transforming the critic-writer relationship to its natural condition. The critic has the right to write what he likes, the right to put things strongly. And in this respect neither the Writers' Union, nor the Ministry of Culture, nor the CPSU Central Committee should protect the writer.

Just imagine. Suppose Gogol, after the famous letter to him from Belinskiy, when Belinskiy called Gogol the "apostle of ignorance, champion of obscurantism and obfuscation," had appealed to "official bodies" with the cry: "How dare that Belinskiy insult me, the great writer of the Russian land!" Gogol did not run to anyone, but, downcast and dismayed, he wrote in a letter to a friend this sentence, as I recall: Now I am nothing, I am all in the future.

The writer must armor himself with his work. And the critic must be free from retribution. That is very difficult, I realize. And Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev quite rightly said that now is not the time to engage in such trivia as the settling of scores. Now people need to restructure themselves, to restructure themselves internally, psychologically. And that includes certain popular writers. There can be no caste of untouchables. But we should not complain.

Recently the TV showed V. Karpov's meeting with young writers, and very nice things were said about them in the report. Perhaps they are indeed good writers, but I did not like the fact that they complained about the entire Soviet Union. How can a writer complain? He should be able to be patient and work, work thoughtfully and profoundly.

I am in favor of our criticism being inviolate. After all, how have things been? Aleksandr Ivanov writes an epigram about someone--a jolly, witty, friendly epigram--and they run to the Central Committee to complain: He wrote an epigram about me! That is terrible...

People here have spoken quite correctly about the writer's courage. We should be courageous, we should be patient, we should not expect any rewards. The only thing that embellishes a person is his name, the name given by his father and mother. Who will remember what awards were conferred on Turgenev, Ostrovskiy, or Pushkin? What nonsense!

I would not change my life for any other life, however, many awards that life was embellished with. I want my own life. And then I have noticed that people who envy other people's lives do not love their own. I have endured much in life, but it is my destiny. Running to complain, begging: Give me his life--how can people do that?

The restructuring is very much to my liking! G. Baklanov has today spoken of how he is living for the first time in such a free atmosphere for literature. He has forgotten that there was a short period which the people christened "cultural enlightenment." During that period too there was much good, good books were written. I think many good writers will emerge now too, though not, of course, immediately. I am terribly glad, for instance, that not many works are appearing at present about the restructuring, the acceleration--the time-servers have lost heart. This too is a sign of the times--the time-servers cannot find their way or decide what to do next...

You sit and think: How good it is to be alive, how good it is to exist at all! And all these squabbles that take place--they are so base, so insignificant, and when well known writers join in these squabbles... They should stand aside.

We must change ourselves to some extent, we must be more modest. And as for what emerges from your pen--that, as has been said before, is "whatever God sends"...

One last point. A very complex question--the nationalities question. My friends, our state is multinational, and if we do not live harmoniously in our own country, how can we live in harmony with the peoples of the whole world? For me, raised immediately after the revolution, a sense of internationalism is a biological property. For instance, I cannot say the words: "I am proud to be a Russian!" What would an Uzbek say? I am proud to be an Uzbek! A Tatar would say: "I am proud to be a Tatar..." Everyone



is proud of his nationality, although nobody can take any credit for it. Everyone is born into God's world, without choosing his nationality, or even his father and mother. So now that ferment has arisen on this ground, we writers should not only prevent it from developing, we should try with all our might to extinguish it. Any nationalistic step, whoever originates it, is harmful and dangerous to everyone. And that is extremely important. And if the government appeals to us--help with the restructuring, it will be difficult and long, it has many enemies, covert and overt--we writers must respond to this with our personal example not only in our behavior as writers, but in our behavior in life. This is my feeling: We are called to human life, very complex and difficult, sometimes agonizing, but we are told: Do not live like a caveman! And we were living like cavemen. I want everyone to live a human life. That is a good life! Once again I call for intelligent, noble behavior, behavior worthy of a writer, from every one of us. This is what I seek to express as my cherished dream.

Borshchagovskiy on Union as 'Censor'

PM151001 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 5

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Aleksandr Borshchagovskiy (Moscow) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Text] First, two quotations--and I will be glad, happy even, if someone can tell me where they come from.

A prose quotation: "Well, truth is necessary. We all cling to it. But yet again, boys, there's something I don't understand... After all they told us to plan from below, let the kolkhoz decide what is to its advantage to sow and what is not. But the plan is not approved. Sparks fly, but nothing comes of it. Once more nothing has remained of our plan. There's truth for you. They do not believe us."

And a quotation from a writer's reflective article: "A cult generates a hierarchy of priests--a deity needs prelates and servants. Where the taste of a single person becomes unquestioned, leveling down, gross interference in the creative process, and harmful tutelage which damages talent but suits hack writers perfectly are inevitable. Where one person has uncontrolled mastery of the truth, artists are assigned the modest role of illustrators and ode writers."

Don't you get the feeling that I have gotten my papers mixed up and picked up a present-day item, a new manuscript? But no, they are quotations from A. Yashin's story "Levers" and an article by A. Kron.

The publication of these two items--"Levers" and "A Writer's Note"--had the saddest and most bitter of consequences: Because of them the almanac LITERATURNAYA MOSKVA was closed down in 1956. The third volume--a fine volume prepared by a public editorial collegium--did not see the light of day. Yet it was spring then in 1956 and people--young and old--believed in

it, believed that a broad road had been opened to the truth, that this road was irreversible, and that everything would develop. But it did not happen.

That is why today any one of us, thinking anguished thoughts, asks himself: "But will not the same thing happen with the new spring which has now begun widely and far more loudly and solidly? I understand very well the situation and difficulties of restructuring and could myself have spoken on this theme--delivering a convinced and passionate report. But we inevitably turn from a general view of reality to the business of our own lives, our own professions, and we must think about literature to ensure that the new process--you can call it openness, democratization, the opening up of souls, or social justice--has no end.

That is why I want to speak of the fears generated not by increased nervousness, I want to speak of the signs that this process has stopped and been delayed--signs which we cannot fail to notice. First of all I shall say that for a whole year--after all nearly a year separates us from the Eighth Congress--we have made almost no headway in development; have failed to fulfill and are failing to fulfill the decisions of our own congress.

Remember--and it is not hard--all you congress delegates sitting here!--how much we linked with the creation of the secretariat bureau. We thought: Well, an organizational solution has been found and prestigious writers will take up the leadership. The secretariat bureau--that is the only new form which will provide a lot in our life, provide a different level of existence for the Writers Union. But that did not happen: S. Zalygin is a delicate man, but it is clear to everyone in the hall from his speech that the secretariat bureau simply does not exist.

People are constantly talking about grayness and about the alarming state of affairs regarding admission to the union. After all, there are many living threads, many ways and means of erecting a barrier to lack of talent and hack work. This is one of the decisive and most important questions--the admission of new union members. After all the writers' congress suggested suspending admission for two years. I am not in favor of that but we are simply standing idle and not thinking about a new rule for admission according with the present times. The "greater" union has failed to engage in this, although it is a very important question.

We have not advanced one step in democratizing our writers' life. It is not a question of each one of us individually, we have gathered here as a union, as an organization. What in our organization has moved in the direction of appointment by election? We elect neither the board of our publishing house nor the board of the literary fund, not even the board of the writers' center. The union prefers to issue portfolios from its own bureaucratic hands and to shower affection on the "selected," not the elected. And these literary bureaucrats are responsible only to a generous management. Things cannot be this way, comrades. And we must say this

impartially. I can see how the number of papers, decisions, councils, and commissions is increasing--they are infinitely far removed from the real business. Yu. Sergeyev's speech sounded strange today--V. Rozov has already spoken well about it. This speech contained not thought but threats, rage, and the desire to replace hard work with youthful, unsuitable means.

After all, a dozen such voices or voices similar to that of Sergeyev and, moreover, invested with power, will easily put an end to any restructuring.

Unfortunately the preservation of the interests and privileges of the writers' hierarchy remains the concern of the Writers' Union.

Talk is constantly in one form or another of the inviolability of the writers' hierarchy. With a rare naivete forgivable only in a children's writer, at the RSFSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat Mikhalkov expressed the fear that, as he put it, people have ceased to pay attention to stars and titles. But who has ceased paying attention to merited awards? That is not what we are talking about--we are talking about whether the principle of social justice and equality of talents in the face of criticism will be implemented or whether all this will remain empty words and whether we will rely on the same old ranking.

I love the prose of V. Belov and the publication of his "An Ordinary Affair" ["Privychnoye delo"] was a treat for me. Incidentally, the countryside at that time did not and could not read "An Ordinary Affair," because it simply did not have the book but the city already knew and loved it. But that does not mean that in his creative development there can be no distressing lapses or failures and I am speaking of the right of criticism to consider this boldly and responsibly. It is useful for us, including Belov, to listen to V. Lakshin's thoughts. How long will we belittle criticism as a field of literature, believing that criticism is a lower species than prose and poetry? Yet to my way of thinking Academician D. Likhachev and V. Lakshin are already major, lofty, albeit not equivalent, phenomena of Russian culture. If we could imagine life in 30 to 40 years time and fantasize on the subject then we would perhaps see in that remote future Lakshin's name standing far above many names which are causing a stir today. Let the critic's thoughts be realized. Nothing terrible will happen.

But why was P. Proskurin so frightened? The point is that he had defined a special place for V. Belov. He wrote that he is "a writer belonging to the ranks of those who are called Russia's conscience." That's beautiful. And it would be a fine thing if this were to come to pass through Belov's life itself, through his entire life. But someone should not be extolled so highly in his own lifetime. No, we are all sinners, we can all be guilty of slips of the pen, of errors and strange enthusiasms. Learn to listen to the critic's voice too.

We should not think that everything difficult is behind us. Books achieved through suffering and finally published have been named here. I must tell the comrades who are in the first row behind the presidium table that these books did not appear thanks to your efforts or the efforts of the union leadership. Most frequently the union leadership has been a self-appointed censor, a delaying factor. This applies to A. Rybakov's "Children of the Arbat" ["Deti Arbata"], V. Dudintsev's novel, and V. Rozov's "The Young Wild Boar" ["Kabanchik"], which was authorized by the USSR Ministry of Culture, yet the Union, eagerly or reluctantly, I do not know, initiated an unkind discussion or to be more precise denunciation of the play, after which it was banned.

This is unfortunately in the very recent past and therefore we must say courageously and frankly of it: If we do not speak, if we drive the illness within, if we continue to cling to appointments for life and to orders from appointed leaders in all organs of the union, our cause will make no headway.

#### Voznesenskiy Responds to Proskurin

PM111328 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 7

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Andrey Voznesenskiy (Moscow) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Text] We have gathered here for the sake of the sacred cause that is called literature, for the sake of the unification of us all. The speech you have just heard [by Stanislav Kunyayev] introduces a split--a split on the nationalities question, which there should not be.

When Osip Mandelshtam and Pavel Vasilyev, who were repressed, both died--did it really matter which of them was of what nationality? And the RSFSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat session, which, according to S. Kunyayev, went so well, this secretariat also showed an incorrect tendency.

On the eve of our plenum I read P. Proskurin's article in PRAVDA. This is what he writes, and it is picked out in boldface: "Out fat and slim journals are vying with one another to seek out and publish works from earlier decades which for one reason or another did not see the light, or were formerly printed in the West... Attempts to incorporate these into the continuing, living literary process, into the context of the present day--whether we like it or not--not only slow down the development of that process, but also give that process an odor of literary necrophilia."

Now is the time of openness--let us be specific: Who are these Soviet "necrophiles"? M. Alekseyev, perhaps, who published Nabokov's "The Defense" ["Zashchita Luzhina"]? Or V. Karpov, who wrote an article about N. Gumilev? Or G. Baklanov, who published A. Bek's novel, and ZNAMYA also published A. Platonov's "Juvenile Sea" ["Yuvenilnoye More"]? Or



A. Dementyev, who found room in YUNOST for a fine article about I. Severyanin? These are all good people, not necrophiles.

A restoration of our culture is taking place. And who are these "corpses"? Is it A. Tvardovskiy, whose poem "By Right of Memory" ["Po Pravu Pamyati"] has today become the touchstone for Soviet poetry? Is it A. Akhmatova, whose "Requiem" could not be printed for such a long time? I do not think anyone among us can object to the claim that she, Akhmatova, is now more alive than all of us living writers.

All this is being done first and foremost in order to restore historical justice, to restore the living literary process, which is necessary to new authors if they are to give full measure in their writing [chtoby oni pisali po gamburgskomu schetu]. And those who wait in line from six in the morning for these journals are not gourmets, or snobs, or necrophiles. It is the people who stand in line, millions of them, they need it. Millions of people want to know the truth. They vote for openness. I believe the spiritual center of gravity is now once again shifting to our country. I believe that today it is only in our country that people wait as eagerly for every journal as they did for DRUZHBA NARODOV when it carried A. Rybakov's novel "Children of the Arbat" ["Deti Arbata"]. Today our country has once again turned with excitement to literature. It is literature that can now do what it never could do before: Stop the diversion of the rivers, stop the building of the ugly victory monument on Poklonnaya Hill, and so forth. Literature has become effective, which we only dreamed of before. Thanks to our times, to our difficult struggle.

We all have complaints to make to the new secretariat. But let us be fair, too. For instance, as soon as our commission on the literary legacy of B. Pasternak had met and drawn up a 14-point resolution on which the first point was to revoke the old resolution on expelling B. Pasternak from the Writers' Union in order to publish a complete collection of his works, including the novel "Doctor Zhivago," the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat met within a week. That was quite unprecedented. After all, "Doctor Zhivago" is not only of literary significance. After the session V. Soloukhin came up to me and said: "Why was I not summoned? My soul longs to repent our expulsion of a great writer." And what about the reinstatement to Writers' Union membership of S. Lipkin, who did so much for the literatures of the USSR's peoples! The resolute steps which the union's present leadership is taking in this direction must be continued, may they keep it up.

Now, young people. We all saw on television the young people who came to the Komsomol congress. How pure young people are today! How they want to overturn the bureaucracy which reigned in the Komsomol for so many years. Perhaps this is partly because they have read a story which could not be published for many years and has now been printed in YUNOST--"Rayon Emergency" ["Chp Rayonnogo Masshtaba"]--about bureaucracy in the Komsomol.



A certain poet who once visited the Baykal-amur Railroad was shattered to find the young people there dancing rock 'n' roll in the evenings. Let them dance what they like--after all, they work hard. What is rock 'n' roll? First and foremost, it is rhythm. Why blame everything pernicious on this rock 'n' roll? That is like saying: The iamb is a dangerous phenomenon. You can write fine things in iambs, and you can also write repellent things. The same applies to rock. And I would say that Leningrad's "Akvarium" under the leadership of B. Grebenshchikov creates great masterpieces in the rock music genre. And in Leningrad's Oktyabrskiy auditorium, which seats 4,000, concerts are held where a symphony orchestra plays Bach and Vivaldi, and "Akvarium" plays among them, in harmony with them. Young people want a new culture, new ideas. That cannot be discounted. Tomorrow is for them.

The young writer Yu. Sergeyev has spoken here, for instance. He spoke aggressively about the aggressiveness of the new generation. But who walked into the burning Chernobyl? We did not give them radiation suits, which would have protected them. The young firemen died, and saved you and me. So let their generation dance and listen to whatever it likes!

Alas, there are elements of vandalism in our life, but what has rock 'n' roll to do with this? And it does not necessarily apply only to young people. When I was collecting material for the poem "The Ditch" ["Rov"] it became clear that the criminal men were at least 40 years old. We should take a look at how young people were educated. I went to Borodino Field after the barbarous flowing up of Bagration's grave--just one vertebra was left of him, and the monument alongside, crowned with a cross, had been blown up--who did that? Young people? It is shameful that such things exist in our country. And what about the vandals in the Siberian science city who called for computers to be smashed up? Carrying cudgels into the electronic age?

A word about new writers. One young poet said to me: "I will not join the Writers' Union, because the admission process is several years of insulting wandering from commission to commission." I propose that a special secretariat session be convened to deal with the admission of young people. Let such masters as V. Kaverin, Ch. Aytmatov, V. Rasputin, B. Okudzhava, and Ye. Yevtushenko come--each of them will bring with him two or three young writers whom he vouches for. And we will admit them at the secretariat without red tape--there will be an infusion of talented, lively blood.

I would like us at the next plenum to have fewer speeches on general matters, I would like the writers to talk about new books that have already been created. That is the most important thing.

### Ustinov Addresses Plenum

PM111550 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 pp 8-9

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Valentin Ustinov (Moscow) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Text] The most important thing that has happened in the life of the country's writers' organization is that nothing has happened.

Nothing has happened--none of the things we spoke and dreamed of a year ago before the congress and during the congress, none of the things we spent the year after the congress waiting for. Where are the new literary periodicals--monthlies, weeklies, quarterlies? Not there. Where are the new publishing houses--central and local, regional, oblast? Not there, unless you count the resolution announcing permission for the creation of subsidiaries of the Sovremennik and Detskaya Literatura publishing houses in Siberia. Where are the long-awaited literature grants? They say permission has been granted for 10 grants. But, first, 10 is a laughably small number for the whole country. And, second, to whom will they be allocated (if they are), by whom and according to what principle? This is a great mystery. And in that case, where is the openness which we are called upon and which we call upon each other to exercise? Where is the discussion of writers and the discussion by writers of literature and social problems on television? Constant, enthusiastic discussion involving more and more new names? Not there. Only once in a while the familiar faces of Aleksandr Ivanov, Robert Rozhdestvenskiy, Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, Voznesenskiy, and Okudzhava emerge from the frenzied whirlwinds of popular entertainment, and even they are swamped, eclipsed, by the newly arisen metallic waves of rock. Finally, where is the author's copyright that would protect the writer's interests, his right to create and to earn money in order to be able to create, in the face of the tyranny of publishers, printers, booksellers, and all the other organizations, supervisory and monitoring organizations, like the Goskomizdats [State Committees for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] and the VAAP [All-Union Copyright Agency], which vigilantly watch over their own economic accountability, but do not much care about the economic accountability of members of our writers' organization, whose creative works they exploit.

Naturally, you cannot say that the Writers' Union Board has done nothing at all. The members of a special bureau of six esteemed writers--who are theoretically supposed to determine the organization's strategy in the restructuring--have taken certain key positions in a number of public organizations and become the heads of two journals which have published a number of works which were written long ago but were cut off, so to speak, from the country's cultural life. We thank them for that, but all the same, in voting for the bureau, we expected more from our illustrious colleagues.

The secretaries of the "big" board, becoming involved in the inevitable day-to-day affairs, concentrated the main efforts of themselves and the apparatus on setting up councils: For criticism, poetry, prose, work with young people, propaganda, and so forth. As a result of many months of efforts, the councils were set up and even met once and discussed writers' problems once again, taking stenographic records. All those stenographs! All those fine ideas to be found in them! Will they ever be summed up and translated into reality? Judging from how the restructuring is currently taking place among us, this is a slim hope.

What stopped the Writers' Union and the board elected nearly a year ago from concentrating their efforts on implementing the aforementioned measures and many others not mentioned, without whose implementation all the talk about restructuring in our field will remain no more than talk?

I am not shifting the blame from our elected organs, the working secretariats and their apparatuses (including the Moscow Writers' Organization), which are called upon directly to carry out this work. True, they have tried to do this work, taking and preparing a whole series of steps. But it turns out that they acted, and are making preparations, too slowly.

Why? That "why" is the root of the problem encountered by the organization in the past year.

The organization forgot, so to speak, its sense of being a single working unit and of the unity of goals and ways of achieving those goals. In the guise of openness and democracy, a whole series of personalities appeared on television, in the press, and at various meetings to make statements which frankly misinform public opinion. Personal publicity (and therefore economic) considerations prevailed over elementary justice in relation to colleagues. One could forgive outbreaks of uncontrollable ambition if they did not disrupt the balance of truth in the organization, if they did not indirectly lead to lamentable economic prospects for the future for dozens of members of the union. And I consider it our common duty to restore justice and help our colleagues to acquire not only the right, but also the opportunity to engage in the creative work for which they have been preparing not for years, but for decades.

I am sure that our popular poet and current affairs writer Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Yevtushenko last year failed to display the wisdom and fair objectivity that is obligatory for a secretary of the "big" union. It was he who was responsible for the initiative of announcing to the whole country, using all channels, that in the last 25 years not a single remotely notable poet has appeared, and a time without poets has come. At first such statements were greeted among the poets with irony: The fears and bitterness of the loss of leadership were too clearly present in them. I remember that back in May of last year MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR received an open letter from the poets to Yevg. Yevtushenko condemning his actions. But I repeat, we were too inclined to take everything in good part and with irony. We were wrong. Yevtushenko's negative attitude to modern poetry was

rapturously seized on by the book trade and the press, and created a certain opinion in a number of influential organizations. A whole series of writers (clearly afraid of lagging behind in "democratic openness") took up the idea, shouting out to the whole country about the dominance of "mediocrity" in literature. The articles and statements varied in terms of the heat of passions and in terms of the degree of striving for objectivity; they were united by one thing: The only people they did not include among the "mediocrities" were themselves, and perhaps two or three like-minded people.

The example of their elders has inspired those who are now aged between 30 and 40 but are not yet Writers' Union members. Seeking to push their manuscripts into the publishing houses by direct pressure, they cheerfully set about shouting into all the microphones offered to them by the press that the Writers' Union consists entirely of hacks, time-servers, and retrogrades, that the new times of the restructuring require new ideas and forms in literature, and that they themselves are the heralds and geniuses of the new times. Even Yevg. Yevtushenko, herald of the sixties, was numbered by them among those who gave birth to the time-serving current affairs poetry of the seventies. In passing, the newborn avant-gardists spoke very scornfully of their contemporaries who did not want to set generation against generation, but wanted to unite to work on cleansing society's morality. As for people their own age elsewhere in the country, in Russia, the "heralds of the eighties" lumped these all together in a single contemptuous, faceless mass of "Ivanovs, Petrovs, and Sidorovs."

The insult to the Writers' Union and its leadership could not be doubted. The desire to shock, snobbery, and self-advertisement were in evidence. Nonetheless it was the organs of the Writers' Union (true, not only theirs) which were made available for articles and "roundtables" of so-called "young" writers. Among them were NOVYY MIR, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and LITERATURNOYE OBOZRENIYE. The journal YUNOST, also headed by a secretary of the "big" union, Andrey Dementyev, made its pages available to the "young avant-garde" last year and this year. True, in issue No 4 YUNOST at last published some poems, after which it is downright difficult to speak of innovativeness, still less genius. The old truth was revealed: You can say what you like about yourself, but the text will decide.

But there is still no peace. The professionals are studying the texts. But YUNOST's readers still innocently believe in the printed word. They go to hear the "new poets" announced by the literary press.

So much for the successes of the "new wave." As for the "old wave," that is, us, the situation for poets (and now for a large proportion of prose writers too) is lamentable in the extreme. Editions of the books they produce are kept to a minimum, the prices per line and per printed page are stated at low rates in the contracts, because poetry, criticism, and some prose are declared to be loss-makers. The Goskomizdats have advised publishing houses to cut modern poetry and hand over paper for the republishing of classics. Yet poets account for one-fifth of our professional



union. And if the Writers' Union, instead of protecting its members, instead of promoting unity, continues to avoid studying and resolving problems, taking the opinions of individuals and groups for the truth, the situation could become highly explosive for our common task.

And the task facing us is very simple and natural: We must seek to consolidate all our forces for the common cause. And for writers in our country, there should be only one common cause: Using words to build in society a spiritually creative, patriotic morality.

#### Maldonis on Republic Lit Fund

PM121058 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 9

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Alfonsas Maldonis (Lithuania) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Excerpt] I wish to respond to the call for effective action which has been voiced here. It seems to me that it is time greater autonomy was given to the republican divisions of the Literature Foundation, together with the opportunity to control material resources. A form and methods should be found so that republican organizations can maintain direct contacts with foreign writers' organizations. This is indisputably and obviously correct. An extended secretariat session or even a plenum should be devoted to translation and to questions of training translators from the languages of the USSR's peoples. Socialist internationalism is possible only on the basis of national assets. There is no such thing as culture in general, there is no international, humanist culture common to all mankind, without the assets which go to make up the culture of a given people--their history, language, literature and art, ethical and philosophical views, way of life and traditions. True internationalism at the expense of these assets is impossible, and the real state of our international literary links is reflected in book publishing and criticism.

I support Vladimir Beekman's idea. If we really want to strengthen translation, which is such an important component in cultural development, we cannot get by without creating a translators' society.

That is all I have time for, all I can say. I myself embarked on my literary career after the 20th congress, and I am glad for the young people who are beginning their careers in literature in our times, restless times which are splendid for real talent.

#### Surovtsev on 'Petty Polemics'

PM121054 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 9

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Yuriy Surovtsev (Moscow) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Text] I wish to express a few ideas about the democratic nature of our present literary life in the conditions of openness and restructuring, or rather on the lack of democracy in many respects, above all in the work of the secretariat, which I have had the honor to belong to for 10 years now. There is more criticism to come--and hence self-criticism. That is how I want you to understand me.

Democracy and openness are very serious matters, and we must talk about them and seek to strengthen them seriously. At the same time the keen relevance of our journal publications today contains too much that is tendentious, too frequently there are clashes of self-esteem and poorly considered, hasty generalizations.

An example. How long will every issue of the journal OGONEK be received by certain heralds of openness and democracy as a pretext for "rolling up their sleeves"? I do not like everything that OGONEK is publishing today. I would make so bold as to advise that journal not to stupefy the reader with excessively lavish doses of Gumilev and not to overdo the duels over the question of who was the first to say: "Yes, boys" or "No, boys." This is a trivial matter, and unfortunately it cannot conceal the really important one--the discussion of what we take up and develop from the spiritual experience of the sixties, and what part of the "heritage" it is better for us to reject. Petty polemics should be rejected! This too is the experience of the sixties. It is not by Voznesenskiy's and Yevtushenko's poses on the memorable cover of the journal and not by our attitude to those poses that we should measure the creative work of those poets or the position of the journal OGONEK, which is today doing much that is useful for the restructuring. Making a fuss about this photo and turning it into or seeing it as a force undermining our foundations is laughable, it is mere froth, and must not be passed off as anything more than froth or be whipped up deliberately.

Yes, democracy is the existence of different viewpoints. As a minimum. But different viewpoints should not prevent us from coexisting. I, for instance, have a different idea of the paths of development of our prose from that set forth by P. Proskurin in his article in PRAVDA on 26 April. Which should prevail? Who on the secretariat should "win"? No, we are not playing football. And ultimately we are all in the same "team." So should we then conceal this difference of opinion? I think that would be the wrong answer too. That would be a false, pseudodemocratic unity.

It is a pity--and here I am coming to my main point--it is a pity that not one of the secretariat sessions in the 10 months since the Eighth Congress has discussed such major creative questions as those raised by P. Proskurin in his article. That is where we lack collegiality, democracy in the socialist, competitive, truly constructive sense.

In that time we secretaries, myself included, have signed a whole heap of decisions. What are they about? Many of them are about granting a repayable or nonrepayable loan to this or that writer; about writing off

from this or that balance a car with no wheels or a typewriter with no letters, and so forth, and all of it is necessary and all of it is urgent.

But in all that time we have not found the time, have not made the opportunity in the press of day-to-day affairs to discuss, at long last, the work of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, our common offspring, but also, for some writers and whole literatures, a godmother. This question must be studied carefully and truly collectively, but it must be tackled, and not endlessly postponed under pressure of day-to-day affairs.

We should have discussed the strategy for the activity of the Foreign Commission, especially with regard to the literatures of the socialist countries (for instance, the question of joint journals has not visibly progressed). It would also be useful to discuss its cadre structure, which, in my view, was set up too quickly, without discussion even with the "working" secretaries. Nor will I tire of repeating that in my view we were wrong to cut the post of secretary for relations with the socialist countries.

And what about the experience of the literatures of the USSR's peoples? The report contains criticism of the secretariat on this score, and I will try to go into slightly more detail.

The very urgent questions of life, culture, and literature touched on by our comrades from Belorussia and the Ukraine were supported by Zalygin and other speakers. Is this our affair? Ya. Khelemskiy, chairman of the Belorussian Literature Council, and I asked the Belorussian Ministry of Education for an explanation on certain important and urgent matters. We received a reply from the ministry, and it is a very interesting document. It must be carefully studied, but it does not dispel the concern voiced here by N. Gilevich. The number of schools using Belorussian as the teaching medium, and therefore the familiarization of students graduating from these schools with Belorussian culture, is falling in the cities. In 1981 there were nine in the whole republic, and in 1986-1987 there were five.

I repeat, are these questions our affair? I think they are.

My personal share of responsibility here is great: I have not been sufficiently persistent in putting questions of this kind before the secretariat.

We have created a major commission on the interrelationships of the literatures of the USSR's peoples, but as yet the secretaries working in the apparatus pay little attention to it.

And if you take the discussion of the work of the Republican Writers' Unions, I must say that apart from discussing the work of the Kazakh Writers' Union, we have not managed to do anything in this "genre" in the last 10 months.

And another thing. It is sometimes necessary to defend a republican writer from the USSR Writers' Union itself. There is sometimes an incorrect attitude to him and his new works. The experience of literary life recently, both before and after the 27th Party Congress (in Moldavia, for instance, and in Uzbekistan and Kirghizia), indicates that this must be done. Yet in such cases we usually content ourselves with tacit neutrality with regard to the local bodies. We deeply respect them, we work in close contact with them, usually, but not always in harmony. The instances of rule by administrative decree in our literary life, which O. Poptsov spoke of, are by no means a thing of the past.

The long series of publications in our central journals of works which had unfairly lain in their authors' desk drawers apparently delighted some of us excessively, and reassured others. But that is not the situation everywhere, comrades! The problem of the writer's right to publish and the right of the editor and the editorial collegium (and only them--nobody else!) to decide the question of publication remains acute.

And that problem leads me to the last point I wish to make today.

The question of the statute, of renewing it comprehensively, which has now become urgent, will be discussed specially at the appropriate commission. Here, however, I would like to say that it is necessary to involve as many writers and literary press organs as possible in the renewal of the statute. It is necessary to turn the preamble to section four of the present charter into a detailed, well thought out, really operational system of rights, guarantees, and mutual work. This provision runs as follows: "The elected leadership organs of the Writers' Union rely in their activity on the support of the literary public, the editorial collegiums of newspapers and journals, the boards of Writers' Union publishing houses, its councils for the literatures of the USSR's peoples and for individual genres, and the creative commissions and sections."

They rely on their support! That is a weighty, demanding requirement. A very up-to-date task. It is important to learn to turn different opinions to the common good and involve people in joint work. And then, in discussing things with so-called "ordinary" writers, with his comrades, the board secretary will not hear the mournful cry which he still hears frequently today: "Why should I go to the union... You get by without me"--but will hear something very different: "It is my organization, and everything that happens there concerns me, and without me it is incomplete and cannot improve."

That is where we are going! And let us all work together to achieve it!



### Proskurin on 'Repentence'

PM130800 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 9

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Petr Proskurin (Moscow) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Text] Major literature is now gaining very strong reinforcement from the new generation of young prose writers, who already have their own voice, their own face, their own place in literature, and V. Karpov quite rightly said at his recent meeting with young writers: These are the young people who are capable today of standing on equal terms, shoulder to shoulder with the older generations of Soviet writers.

I could name many names, and still could not exhaust the list of those on whom the hopes of our prose writing are pinned today.

Prose has always been the bread of literature, however much people may try to substitute airy, melt-in-the-mouth sponge cakes. The influx of new names, fresh replenishments from the people's literature--that is what constitutes our main restructuring and our acceleration. The influx of strong prose work, rich in moral health--that is worthy of celebration, that is a growth in the people's spiritual capital, and perplexity is aroused by the loud rebuke voiced by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (on 21 April this year), which ought to be young people's mentor, an intelligent, thoughtful guide through the complex labyrinths of artistic interpretation of the contradictory, largely paradoxical world of today. Yu. Geyko, the author of the abovementioned rebuke, "How We Argued," recommended himself to the reader as a participant in the television program "Young Writers Call on the Writer V. Karpov." Yes, Geyko undoubtedly had the right to say everything he writes about, but one thing is surprising: Why did he not express his views at the meeting itself, since he was a participant, why did he not express them in his comrades' presence, rather than taking advantage, basically, of the "stab in the back" method, making use of his position on the newspaper and casually labeling the majority of participants in the meeting with the tag "erroneous" and "unethical"?

So here too, as in the case of V. Belov, who was blackened by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and consigned to the ranks of misanthropic writers, is it not possible to object and voice exactly the opposite opinion?

In my view the meeting saw a highly interesting, frank dialogue of generations, held in the spirit of the restructuring which is progress in the country, because V. Karpov, both by virtue of his own career and by virtue of what he has done in his latest novel, "The Captain" ["Polkovodets"], has the right to speak on behalf of our generation, which went through the war and then raised the country from the ruins. Yes, he has that right. The conversation was very profound, searching, topical, and fruitful because

the majority of the young writers who came to the meeting have already established themselves, marked out their paths firmly, and reached the broad masses of readers with talented books, books that are of the people. They include S. Alekseyev, M. Shchukin, A. Buylov, Yu. Sergeyev, and N. Shipilov. This can only cause rejoicing. So why such sarcasm from Geyko, why the desire to rebuke and wound in passing the writers who bring the people a sound moral input?

Another question also arises in this connection. At a time when the country is sharpening, focusing its efforts to fulfill the tasks set by the party and concentrate all progressive trends, a certain section of our mass press, instead of propagandizing our achievements in literature and providing access to the world arena for those talented young people who have emerged from the midst of the people, is all at once eagerly beginning to fan interest in dissident literature. That same MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, for instance, reprints from the ultrareactionary French newspaper LE FIGARO and disseminates all over the world in seven languages a highly malicious letter which pours out animal hatred on the Soviet people and our fatherland from a group of former Soviet writers, together with a very sour, all but groveling commentary from workers at its own editorial office. Of course, polemics in literature, however bitter, as in any sound area of life, are natural and useful, only these polemics should take place on a basis of equality and in an atmosphere of true openness. Such potentially enormous spiritual forces as literature cannot and must not stand idle, and if that suits some people, then the writers themselves should put an end to it. The abnormal situation of being cut off from the mass media, from the opportunity to bring their views to the people, is clearly confirmed, too, by the impotent position of the USSR Writers' Union voluntary councils on prose, poetry, and criticism, and all the other councils, whose work is basically pointless and no use to anyone without broad public openness. There are many, very many blunders here. It would be expedient to invite the full working secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union Board to the Central Committee from time to time, for Central Committee ideological conferences, where it would be possible to raise and resolve the most urgent questions of the secretariat's work.

The working secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union Board basically lacks the opportunity, at present, even to influence a Writers' Union organ like LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which at some time slipped out of the control of the Writers' Union and its secretariat, and the question of normalizing this situation must be raised here. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA today, as it did 5 and 10 years ago, becomes seriously and assiduously involved in whatever it likes. That will continue to be the case, unless it is reorganized and the staff renewed. The Writers' Union is a very rich organization, and it does not need to publish 3 or 4 million copies of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 500,000 would be enough, but it must be a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA involved in literature and its problems, involved with writers and their lives, not trying to reach for the moon... Just one example from my own experience. A plenum of the prose council was held recently, at which six reports were read, very interesting reports specifically about literature, its problems,

and its quest in this complex time of general restructuring in the country. There were about 30 interesting, professional speeches by writers, and what does LITERATURNAYA GAZETA do? Nothing! It basically carries dry information reports on three or four pages, but then devotes almost a whole page to yet another article in yet another tedious debate about the problems of the novel, a debate which--like all its predecessors, incidentally--is for some reason conducted mainly by women critics, who, in turn, have a very good command of the formulas for creating a true novel, and yet are busy writing nothing but endless articles about the problems of the novel. In a word, the real work of many dozens of people, the really heated debate about contemporary literature which took place at the prose council, where life and literature came together in ardent, sometimes lethal embraces, was of no interest either to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, or to LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, or to our literary criticism journals. How is this professional indifference to be explained?

Is that restructuring too?

To continue, I would like here to address another alarming phenomenon in our spiritual life today. This is, on the one hand, the debates and discussions on television about our cultural heritage, and on the other the continuing and fairly intensive destruction and profanation of that heritage and the demolition of historic buildings in a number of cities by night and in secret from the population. At that same recent writers' congress there was talk of restoring the historical names of cities and streets, and then there was silence. S. Zalygin, at one time, wrote well about this in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. And in Moscow itself, which, by some miracle, has so far escaped renaming, three names were restored, which caused an outburst of jubilation among the Muscovites... So what next? Where is the consistency in the democratization of life, where is the respect for the people's opinion? It must not be forgotten that the people see everything and really know everything; laxity with regard to our ancestors (the names of cities, villages, and squares also form part of the concept of national culture) is already beginning to turn against us in a terrible way: Our future has indeed turned against us. Open the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA for 5 April of this year and read the article "Confrontation on the Battlefield." Not only have inconceivable, spine-chilling incidents been uncovered where adolescents shot at the monuments to Soviet servicemen who died in 1941-1945, but now they are uncovering instances of the destruction and defilement of mass military burials in the north: Young marauders roam around the area on motorcycles, dig up and rob military graves, ransack the remains of their fathers and grandfathers, and carry away the insignia of military excellence which they find, the orders and the medals, taking them to collectors and fences. This is a token of inconceivable disaster and the final warning of the continuing moral degradation... Who is doing this? Men or monsters? Call them what you like, they grew up and were educated in our social environment, in the sick moral climate of the past decades. If the fathers and grandfathers of the young grave-robbers and marauders were not ashamed to nullify the labor of very many earlier generations by taking away the

age-old historical names of the cities they built, blowing up churches, and simply demolishing the national holy places, then why should not their children, in turn, plunder and defile the graves of their own fathers and grandfathers and deprive them even of their burial places? The wheel comes full circle... But who will at last be called to account, and when, for this plundering of national spiritual wealth which cannot be restored? It must be remembered that when chaos and terror really do break out and the moral and spiritual foundations collapse, then as a rule the cementing and organizing force of history comes to our aid.

In connection with the above, I would like to cite as an example the movie "Repentance," which has been the subject of so much writing and such arguments. It presents the lessons of history through the people themselves, through their relationships, customs, daily life, legends, errors and blindnesses, and... I would like to add--"through insight." But in my view there are considerable defects here too.

...History is on trial, it is being correlated, so to speak. They are literally judging a corpse, constantly digging it up out of the ground, judging it for the sake of the living, while at the same time killing the living soul of the living. A corpse again! Graves again! What kind of love is this? Is it really necessary for the young, passionate seeker after truth, Varlam Aravidze's grandson, to commit suicide, especially since he has already grasped the full horror of that truth? Was not this rather melodramatic event--the suicide of a beautiful youth only just beginning to blossom--needed in a serious, genuinely tragic movie solely so that subsequently his father could himself dig up the corpse of the grandfather (his own father) and picturesquely chuck it over a steep precipice to the din of innumerable ravens eager for their share of the spoils? Naturally, there can be different ways of looking at this piece of art, but since man became man, since the times of the most ancient civilizations, committing an outrage on your father's body has always been considered the most terrible sacrilege. Naturally, Varlam's crime was immeasurably great, shedding rivers of innocent blood--though was he alone in his guilt?--but it was not for his own son to throw him out of his grave to feed the ravens. There is something inhuman, amoral about this, something which violates the millennial, unwritten laws and precepts of conscience which separate man from animals. And indeed, are corpses necessary at all in art, is their literal, physical presence necessary? We must not go astray and overestimate our potential. What do you and I know about death, that we should insult it? There are inconceivable things in the hierarchy of the eternal human values, they must not be violated, because they have a titanic destructive power which is sometimes not subject to control, they teach licentiousness. The appearance of the movie "Repentance" is an awful warning sign. A yet more terrible and irremediable disaster could be lying in wait for mankind around the next corner of history, the disaster of final moral and spiritual savagery, and the question whether you can follow this road to the Temple, and the answer, that you cannot reach the Temple by this road, by Varlam's road, is the supreme, humanist point of the movie, the moment where the artist



achieves the highest degree of crystallization. The makers of the movie can be forgiven much for this one brief scene.

No, you cannot reach good and the light by the road of evil and darkness, just as you cannot attain the highest degree of morality through sacrilege--by throwing the decomposing corpse of your father, whatever he was like in life, to the ravens.

Let us raise our heads and look ahead, if only a little; this is now absolutely essential for literature and for life.

Mikhalkov on Rock Groups

PM130904 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 87 p 10

[Abbreviated account of speech delivered by Sergey Mikhalkov (Moscow) at 27-28 April USSR Writers' Union Board Plenum]

[Excerpt] We should help the local party, soviet, and economic organs to take the masses' education in the right direction and increase their activeness. The honest words of writers should work for socialism. But all this is possible only given the unity of writers' ranks and a common awareness of our civic responsibility as writers. Responsibility for the revolutionary changes which are taking place in our socialist society. As has already been stated, we should see the purpose of the restructuring in creation, not negation, not in the reevaluation of what we have accumulated over our 70 years of existence within the world system. In daily life we seem to forget rapidly how the party and government treat the labor of the creative intelligentsia. New, real measures were recently adopted to further improve our labor and living conditions. So we must respond to this with real work, not by whipping up group interests! The publication of formerly unpublished artistic works by writers who are no longer with us, whose creative work and philosophy is far removed from the principles of socialist realism, and not only from that, is clearly correct and in the spirit of our time, but all the same, it is not from them that our Soviet literature will take its lead.

There is plenty of criticism around in all spheres of our life today. There is not time to mull over and interpret the greater part of it. But as far as literary criticism is concerned, first and foremost we do not want the pages of our literary press to become a bull ring. The literary bulls are pricked, taunted, mocked, and stabbed almost to death. Those who do this are doing a harmful and futile thing. The settling of personal scores under cover of openness and democracy only compromises us in the eyes of the reader, who knows everyone's real worth. Today our "well-wishers" abroad, condescendingly approving our reforms, are trying to predict new forms of socialism in the spirit of the bourgeois democratic system. We should see this, and react in good time in our dialogues with foreign friends and writers.

In recent times there has been evidence among us of a disdain for the services of those who have rightly won awards from the motherland, titles, medals, orders, and distinctions. And some writers, in their articles and speeches, shrink from words like communist, motherland, fatherland, patriotism, socialism. Why this political and patriotic bashfulness? Where are its roots? Is not this the result of some people's reevaluation of not only cultural values, but also essential ideological values?

I was really moved by the speeches of Yu. Mushketik and N. Gilevich. If we want to preserve the national literatures, we must take the most resolute steps urgently to promote the study of two languages in the schools: Russian and the native language. Starting in the first grade. The first language should be your own, native language, and the second not a foreign language, not French, English, or Spanish, but Russian. The picture is the same today in a number of autonomous republics. In the Bashkir and Mari ASSR's a generation is growing up without knowing its own native language. How can a national culture develop in those republics? How can a national literature develop?

Incidentally, my dear Viktor Rozov, I am proud to be a Russian. I am proud of my forebears who fought at Kulikovo Pole, I am proud of Kutuzov and Suvorov, Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy, Maksim Gorkiy and Sholokhov. I am even proud that I stammer in Russian, and not in Esperanto. And if Askhat Mirzagitov tells me he is proud to be a Bashkir, not only will I understand, I will embrace him as a brother, because we both hold the same ideological positions. Pride in your own people does not prevent friendship among peoples!

And another observation. About the notorious pop groups. Comrades, I am profoundly convinced that this is not simply a question of harmless dances for young people, it is an infection which is at present, unfortunately, incurable. It is a moral AIDS against which no weapon can be found. It is not only music, it is a means of drugging young people. It is the soil in which all kinds of things can grow, from drug addiction to prostitution, betrayal of the motherland, and crimes.

I did not and do not think rock music should be banned. But what has been spoken of today is a moral abyss into which foolish girls and boys can fall. There, free love is preached, there are drugs, and anything you care to mention.

In a word, what is the definition of our place in the restless sociopolitical life of today? No doubt there are plenty of covert and overt opponents of the irreversible process of restructuring, which is gathering speed. We, however, should support it actively. The urgent questions are so great that they should bring to the fore whatever will unite the USSR Writers' Union and all its component organizations.

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CSO: 1800/591

# LOCAL MUSICAL CLUBS NEEDED TO LESSEN WESTERN ROCK INFLUENCE

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 23 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Yu. Tsybin: "How to Get Along Without the 'Scorpions' -- or a Discussion About Why the So-Called 'Musical Doorways' Are Becoming the Favorite Hangouts of Young People"]

[Text] We are daily reminded of their existence. We are reminded by graffiti on the walls of buildings and fences, by graffiti incomprehensible to the uninitiated but which, alas, has become a part of everyday city life. One could make a study of the musical predilections indicated by the assiduously scrawled words in foreign letters and phrases. "Scorpions," "Saxon," "AC/DC," "Except," and "Metal" are the names of performing groups of whom they consider themselves to be fans. These are groups that play heavy metal rock. It's not difficult, by the way, to discover whose hands are responsible for all of this amateur "graphic agitation." They are little flocks of "heavy metal fans" with their odd and sometimes defiant dress and hairstyles who can be easily singled out in the milling crowds on the streets of Minsk.

Who are they?

Mainly 15 to 17 year old students at vocational-technical schools or first year VUZ students.

Why have these so-called "musical doorways" become their favorite places to spend their time and why are their favorite performers those groups whose principal merit is often the fact that they don't have any merit, and whose ideology is reactionary?

One doesn't have to be a sociologist to find the reasons for the phenomenon about which we talk and write so much today. They are even apparent to the person with no special training in social research.

This is due to the absence of a well-balanced system of musical training starting with, no, not from elementary school, but kindergartens and nurseries. Because of that we, as was unhappily observed by the Chairman of the USSR Union of Composers R. Shchedrin, have lost an entire listener generation and, who knows how many more we shall lose.

This has been a chronic neglect of problems concerned with younger generation vogue. How long have we talked about the need to create our own vogue for the young people? Five years? Ten years? Fifteen? For how many years will we continue to talk about it? Is it any wonder that youngsters "lift" the dress fashions off the foreign group record jackets if we offer practically nothing of our own? And is it so easy to disregard the completely understandable desire of young men and women to express themselves by the way they dress?

Finally, this reflects our inability to organize the leisure time of young people properly. Today it is not enough to suggest that young persons spend their free time in ways that we consider to be useful. Ways must be found which they themselves consider to be useful (except, of course, activities of a negative character).

If one wished, one could go on and on naming more reasons, but perhaps it would be more important to see what we can do today about solving painful problems, and then reflect about what we are actually doing.

Take, for example, the world of music and musical propaganda. It appears that we have somehow even become accustomed to hearing hardly any music by Belorussian composers in cafes and bars, whereas, you can hear all you want, for example, from the repertoire of the West German duo "Modern Talking." It would be nice if it were only there. But here you take your child to school. Before classes the pupils do their physical exercises which are also performed to the tune of some music. And again to music of that same celebrated "Modern Talking" group.

Whose fault is that? The public eating place personnel? The school administration? They too are to blame inasmuch as they are violating the instructions that deal with such cases as issued by the appropriate authorities. But they are not the only ones.

In order to have our own rather than borrowed music played at the indicated places we must produce and issue a sufficient number of records and tapes and propagate our music through the mass media. But...for example there was a recent plenum of the governing board of the BSSR Composers' Union which was concerned with the creativity of young people. Symphonic and chamber concerts were held along with creative debates and discussions. Many problems were raised at those sessions. Perhaps, with the exception of one: Why was it that there were so few young people among the listeners at the both the Belorussian Philharmonic and conservatory auditoriums? Who, if not young composers, are supposed to find the way to their hearts and souls? So far it seems that they and the listeners are talking different languages.

"What are we doing to dissuade young people from becoming carried away by Western music?" ask letters to the editors from young readers. "What kind of music is there for 15- to 20-year-olds to listen to?"

This is a gauntlet primarily thrown at you, young composers. Why is there no rush to pick it up? It was symptomatic that the plenum's program had no concert devoted to the mass variety music genre. At what level do the members of the Composers' Union think they can establish contact with the habits of



the "musical doorways"? At the symphonic or chamber music level? That would be wonderful, but let's look at the situation realistically.

In order to prevent the predominance of foreign music in the so-called light genre, we must create our own music that is better in quality and more interesting in content. The republic's variety music has become rigid and stagnant and is in need of new and fresh blood. The same old songs and the same old names and titles are heard on radio and television from one day to the next. But surely we do have interesting amateur collectives and performers. This was recently demonstrated at a contest for the best performance of political youth songs whose final concerts were given at Novopolotsk and were warmly received by the listeners. Why doesn't, let's say, the Belorussian State Philharmonic rate the contest winners and recruit them for concert performances, at least on a contractual basis, as is done in the Baltic republics! Popular variety music can flourish without becoming anachronistic only through healthy creative competition!

Can we really say our situation with respect to songs is in good shape? Just think how many years it has been since we have heard satirical songs that raise acute contemporary problems. The best that the professional variety music groups could do in this respect was to lament "He doesn't have a little sister, he doesn't have a little brother." And even then, people wondered whether this was an appropriate theme for popular variety music. Is this not partially explained by the fact that there is such a prevalence of recordings by rock groups who are trying somehow within their capacity to expand the range of traditional variety music themes that have been sung to death?

The number of such collectives in the republic is growing. And how are we dealing with them? More often than not we reproach them, with or without reason: Don't compose like that, don't play like that, don't select those titles. Sometimes that attitude reaches extremes. In attempting to halt the trend of some groups to select unintelligible and displeasing phrases as song titles, the trade union authorities are prohibiting groups that perform at cultural clubs under the unions' jurisdiction from having such titles at all. Is this not an example of a short-sighted formalistic bureaucratic approach to a resolution of the problem! The time has obviously come to organize an experimental rock laboratory in Minsk as has already been done in Moscow where participants in such a laboratory include professional composers, musicians, and poets. These collectives should be helped to find themselves within their own tastes and creative claims.

Of course, rock is not the only musical genre whose development deserves our attention. But in view of its considerable popularity among young people, it must not be ignored. Besides losing the trust of the young music lover, such neglect can result in a frequently manifested twofold attitude toward this musical trend. On the one hand, in a way we recognize its existence, but on the other hand we assiduously remove the very concept of rock from the television and radio air waves!

It is difficult to overestimate the role that Belorussian television could play in the organization of effective musical propaganda. But unfortunately, we do not have any interesting musical telecasts directed toward young people.

Why do not the editors of our musical programs learn from the experience of Leningrad television which has several cyclic programs of this kind. Take, for example, the program "Musical Ring" which has recently been included into Central Television programming.

I recall that two years ago the Central Committee of the Belorussian Komsomol took the initiative of attempting to organize a musical youth club on Belorussian television. That idea was never realized because the music editorial personnel found that it was too much trouble to break the stereotype that had evolved in their work. What a pity!

Nevertheless we are often inexcusably slow to react to nuances that have become prevalent among young people. While we judge, and yes, even ordain, whether this very "heavy metal rock" is good or bad, and while we are deciding whether the ultramodern "break" dance imported from overseas suits us, the teenager makes his own decision. Himself. Without us. That is probably the first thing that should be of concern to public organizations dealing with the leisure time of young people.

What is it that these "heavy metallists" and "breakers" want?

"Give us a place where we can get together, listen to music, and learn dances" is a common request made by members of young street gangs.

Let's not delude ourselves. The leisure-time problem is not going to be solved by allocating some place to every one of these groups. We have to teach them how to organize their leisure time.

In the spring of this year the Meridian coffee club offered the "heavy metallist" fellows the use of its premises and equipment once a week: Prepare your own programs and spend your evenings here. The experiment ended in a failure. The youngsters were not at all eager to take advantage of the opportunity offered them to raise the organization of their own leisure time to a higher level (i.e., not only to listen to music, but to prepare talks about favorite performers, and discussions about the creativity of some particular group). Instead, they preferred their customary passive way of spending their time: You prepare and conduct the programs. We will come to listen, and if we don't like it, we'll leave.

The result was alarming, although not unnatural. Do we not ourselves from the very first years persistently intervene in any attempts made by youngsters to manifest some initiative in even the most elementary things by preferring to do it for them ourselves?

But here is something to the point, bitter as it is.

Specialists calculate that there 150 kinds of leisure activity. 150! You must agree that we would not have to rack our brains today about what we should do with "heavy metal rock" if only there were at least several dozen of these 150 forms in the public eye, as they say, all of the time. If a person knew where he could see an exhibit of an interesting artist, where he could listen to a popular amateur rock group, or where he could participate in a

science fiction fan club, and not just once a month, but every day, then the acuteness of the problem would be significantly lessened. So far, however, as was correctly noted by the journalist Yu. Shchekochikhin in a Central Television telecast, we offer very few alternatives to youngsters in selecting leisure time activities that might interest and entice them.

It seems that the active organization of youth recreational centers might radically change the situation. An experimental youth association of that type that is being organized in Minsk demonstrates how much such centers might accomplish. Song writer evenings, rhythm gymnastic festivals, comedy shows, challenge contests with members of the "Who? Where? and When?" television club are just a few of the events arranged by the organizers, and the auditoriums are always filled to capacity wherever they are held.

However, the republic youth center has still not fully realized its full potential. It has been unable to do this because it lacks its own material base. This is ultimately due to the lack of attention given to its requirements and needs on the part of those officials and organizations upon whom the satisfaction of those needs and requirements depends.

Now, just imagine if a Youth Palace were to open in Minsk. So many problems would be solved! That would finally present us with a real opportunity to coordinate the activity of the more than 40 youth amateur associations in the city and would provide a permanent roof for those that do not yet have one. It would then be possible to organize that very musical information center described in SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA ("Rock Vogue", October 13). With their own reference apparatus, record library, and recording studios, the lecturers and propagandists engaged in esthetic training problems, would not be compelled to seek the information they need from private individuals whose musical bias they were going to condemn in their lectures on the next day.

And what would prevent us from having a small philharmonic orchestra in such a palace for the best amateur groups and performers whose services had been refused by the state philharmonic! If those performers were given a real opportunity to let the public judge the fruits of their creativity, just think of how powerful a stimulus that would be for creative growth and how much more diversified our concert life would be!

This kind of a philharmonic orchestra, by the way, has been organized and is operating successfully at the Minsk Institute of Culture. It arranges concerts by student musical groups. Why cannot we extend that experience to our amateur groups of the city?

There is no limit to what else we could think up, organize, and implement if only we had our Youth Palace!

Naturally, one then must ask: Where do get the funds to build it and who will undertake its construction?

But there no need to build one.

On a recent Sunday I had occasion to be with an official of the Minsk Oblast trade union council at several cultural palaces of the republic's capital. The picture I got, frankly speaking, was not what I would call optimistic. We counted only a few dozen visitors in the palaces' enormous halls and foyers.

I couldn't help thinking: What if we take one of these luxurious facilities and turn it into a Youth Palace? This is how it might be done: Put the state interests over that of the local departmental ones and turn it over with its staff components, material and technical base and bank account. Should we place faith in the young people? Yes, let's trust them. This is a genuine and necessary cause.

All of the above enumerated measures were undertaken by the republic youth center on the basis of enthusiasm alone, without any formal subsistence. Then came the question of self-sufficiency. Well, in a little over two months the center delivered over 10,000 rubles in earnings to the institutions which provided the facilities for the center's activities. Is it not time to support the enthusiasm of the center's organizers in a genuine fashion without waiting for it to wane?

Small music clubs, alongside the youth cultural centers, could also play a significant role in the organization of worthwhile leisure time to counteract the pop culture of the West. Such clubs, for example, as the Galaxy Club at the Grodno Rural Vocational-Technical School-74. Organized by the students at the initiative of the Komsomol committee, the club has a well appointed room with the latest equipment and has become an attractive recreation site not only for the school's pupils, but for the young people of the adjacent microregion. The club sponsors recreation evenings, art design classes, and rehearsals are held there for amateur performers. The club is teaching young men and women how to spend their leisure time in a cultural way, in the fullest sense of the word. Those who came to the evenings sponsored by the Galaxy club would hardly be content to kill time aimlessly at a doorway, even if it were a musical one.

But there are over 200 vocational-technical schools in the republic and no more than one or two clubs like the Galaxy club. One would like to believe there will be more in the future.

It seems to me that these kinds of "local clubs" (at the bottom) and cultural centers (at the top) will also be able to comprise, one would think, the best framework for youth recreation in the near future.

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CSU: 1800/464



DIRECTOR OF LATVIAN YOUTH FILM URGES GREATER TRUST OF YOUTH

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA In Russian 28 Feb 87 p 4

[Interview with Yuris Podniyekhs about his film "Is It Easy to Be Young?" by correspondent N. Azhgikhina: "It's Time for Us to Be Together"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Yuris, how did you get the idea of making this film?

[Answer] We happened to be on our way to film the mist over the Daugava. The shooting session took quite a while and we didn't return until the evening. We still had some film left. Someone suggested that we drop by to take a look at a performance of the "Thunder" group nearby. We started shooting. In front of our eyes the young listeners, mostly Riga youngsters, started to get up from their seats, joined in the singing, surrounded the performers, and danced...You see that in the very first part of the film. We ran out of film and we left. After the concert (it was somewhat artificially halted) the crowd of listeners destroyed two electric streetcars on their way home. They smashed windows and ruined seats... There was quite an uproar and a court hearing. We came to the hearing with a special purpose. Later we started to look for the fellows whom we filmed during the concert. We printed the photographs and I went around to the city's discos and bars asking whether anyone knew them and where they might be found...I said I was a photographer and not from the militia. They believed me...

[Question] All of the fellows on the screen speak with extreme frankness. To tell the truth, we are not very accustomed to that. How did you manage that?

[Answer] Here in Moscow I have been asked that question a number of times. Of course, there were some difficulties. Not everyone feels comfortable in front of a camera. Sometimes it simply was necessary to sit down with the camera motor running, just to get used to it. And trust? After all, we were talking one on one. If I sat down with you to talk eyeball to eyeball, would you lie?

[Question] One sometimes hears the opinion that if you talk with youngsters on an equal basis you end up playing around with the result that you practically lose your authority. That you must earn their respect from the very beginning...

[Answer] We are very accustomed not to trust them. It is therefore no surprise that they don't trust us. And they have every reason not to respect an authority who is afraid of frank conversation. It seems to me that the most proper approach is to begin with trust...

[Question] Yuris, what features of today's young people do you dislike the most?

[Answer] I don't like the fact that they are not with us. That one generally hears "they" and "we." It is time for us to be together! But one cannot say that is the fault of the young people. This is our common shortcoming, it is our common calamity. It is necessary to make every possible effort to find a solution immediately. There is the impression that everything that concerns adults is protested by the youth. Here we have a very serious problem -- a problem of faith. It is one of those problems whose solution must be attempted without delay.

...They go out in all sorts of weather -- in rain, snow, and frost. At a precise step, each movement worked through, with elbows flung high. They freeze in an honor guard in front of the monument to Latvian riflemen. The very same monument we see in another film of Podniyek's -- "The Constellation of Riflemen." We have seen them on television shows and post cards. True, we have become used to seeing them in color.

"Yes, when I go to school it's as if I put on a mask. What can you do, otherwise, no one will understand you," says one of those who marched on the square in an exemplary fashion. "What have I heard about the Latvian riflemen? Well, they defended Lenin, but I guess I don't know anything more about them. When you go, you think how might I march better." "But you are set apart by only two generations. There are still some riflemen living among us. Can you imagine that?" asked the author of the film. "No, I guess not," responded the young chap. He is sitting in the back row of the drill inspection photograph. A young fellow with an open, pleasant face. I will remember his words for a long time: "The main thing you think about is how I can march better..."

And then there is another picture, this time in color, but somehow continuing this dotted line of alarm. The fellows put up flowers and inscriptions on the walls with colored spray guns. They are even difficult to describe. Such a concoction of colors, rivets, pins, and cosmetics...Several young men and women in leather and metal chains with their hair and faces painted in inconceivable colors. There they are, posing in front of the camera, all together. Their appearance is startling, if not terrifying. Passers-by turn their heads and some stop to look. "No, we don't have any program, we are simply fed up with all of this," says one of the fellows. "We have gone out to the street to draw attention to ourselves. So what if we are horrible looking and disgusting, but we are your children, take a look at us..."

[Question] Yuris, how would you react if your son joined the punks?

[Answer] He is still just a little boy in elementary school. But I recently learned that even at his age some of his classmates are taking tranquilizers

and stimulants and are sniffing all kinds of junk. We sure have our difficulties...

[Question] I got the impression from your film that you consciously avoided making any judgements of your heroes. The narrative text (if I'm not mistaken, I believe it was your voice I heard doing the narrative) is almost always neutral as if you are inviting the viewers to draw their own conclusions.

[Answer] We so often jump to conclusions and are quick to make judgments, and are ready to pin all kinds of labels on people, that I thought it was time to take a careful look at what is actually happening. We have been told many times that we seldom condemn some of our heroes, but surely that does exist on the screen. The hero, for example, himself says that no one ever loved him. Where else can he go?

[Question] Were you assisted by sociologists and psychologists in the making of your film?

[Answer] At the very beginning of our work we recruited a collective of scholars from Riga University. We carefully studied the results of the latest research and consulted with them before making our final decision about the material to be used.

[Question] Did the film's protagonists see themselves?

[Answer] Well, of course they did. Some liked it, while others complained that they were not given enough exposure. But all of them were basically satisfied.

[Question] And the adults?

[Answer] They also saw it. True, they found it more difficult. I appreciated, for example, the courage of the city's chief psychiatrist, the same person who in the film so callously reprimands a girl for trying to commit suicide. The chief psychiatrist saw the film and agreed that it was necessary to show it. Although, frankly speaking, the film does not portray her in the best light.

[Question] ...I also attended a critique of the film. The microphone was passed from one person to another as the viewers expressed their views.

[Answer] As I watched I found myself thinking: When will they start cursing us. They will say we are such this or that -- the response didn't take long! This is the first film that I have seen where we are taken seriously. You haven't shown us all our shortcomings yet: We have a lot of things that are not right and that are bad! We should have more such films!

[Question] And I simply wanted to become better. Your film is a very optimistic one, thank you very much!

[Answer] I am the father of two grown daughters. Everything you have shown is quite correct. It is we who are to blame for the fact that our children cannot resist falsehoods. Because we ourselves don't know how to resist and struggle against evil. Your film is genuine openness in action...

How long it has been that we have wanted to escape reality, how long we have wanted to see our children like we would like to imagine that they "should be." Too often we have stood up for youth "in general" without paying any attention to some "particular aspect."

But the film shows "another kind" of young person. Those who serve in the army or who have already served, and those who have carried out their international duty in Afghanistan.

[Question] Yuris, a considerable part of your picture deals with the Afghan topic. Would you like to add anything to what you have filmed?

[Answer] This was a very difficult task. It was hard to talk with the fellows. I sometimes have asked myself whether I have the right to talk to them about such painful things and to probe their soul. But I understood that this had to be done. There were subsequent complications. One chief suggested that certain places should be toned down and that fellows' statements should be straightened out. We argued. Of course, in the last analysis neither he nor I had any combat experience. We were born after the war and we were never there. And we had no right to "straighten out" anything that was said by these fellows who experienced something that we did not. I was convinced of that.

Of course, the Afghan subject is a special one and perhaps requires a more serious treatment than the one offered in the film. I have been recently asked to do an entire film about the fellows who are serving there. I'm thinking about it.

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# ACTOR ARGUES NEED TO BAN POLITICAL PROPAGANDA FILMS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 87 p 4

[Interview with USSR State Prize Laureate Donatis Yuozovich Banionis, USSR People's Artist, on contemporary cinema problems, by PRAVDA correspondent L. Pavlyuchik, under the rubrics "Creative Pages" and "Meetings for You": "It Begins Today"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Donatis Yuozovich, I would like to begin our conversation with a general characterization of the status and level of our cinema. What are your present concerns, apprehensions, and hopes?..

[Answer] I am personally disturbed by the fact that with each passing year fewer and fewer people are going to the cinema. True, the box office figures do not always reflect the quality of a particular production, but there is no question that they do reflect the low grade of our cinema repertoire...It has gotten to the point where even films that win festival awards do not elicit much interest--because you can't fool the viewer. He has long since recognized that all kinds of films can win prizes at the festivals, but not necessarily for their true artistry. This applies to both our own national movie festivals from which, it seems, not a single creative group leaves without getting an award, and the Moscow International Film Festival where the criterion for art has often been sacrificed in order to satisfy the current marketing conditions. Now, on the eve of the 15th Moscow Festival, there is lot we should reexamine. This also pertains to our entire strategy for international Soviet film connections. Surely, it is no secret that the position of Soviet films has been slipping at the recent major film festivals beyond our borders...

Confidence in our cinema has also been severely undermined by all-union premieres of films which mostly include works which are supposed to deal with vital themes, but often are feeble in the artistic sense.

[Question] What do you think are the root causes of this phenomenon?

[Answer] There is hardly a single answer to that question. In my view one of the reasons for this situation is the improper personnel policy that has given rise to a watershed that widens each year between the supervisors and organizers of the cinema process and the persons who directly present the

films and write the scenarios...Surely, the only normal situation is where a film is not so much supervised by an administrator endowed with power who can "close down" a picture because of the director's obstinacy or because he thinks the film's language is excessively "strange," as it is guided by a major creative personality who comes up with new ideas and suggests bold theme alterations. Many of our film studio supervisors and cinematography committee supervisors often have only an approximate notion of what the "ferment" of art is or understand what the uniqueness of any particular artist is. This kind of atmosphere has had serious consequences for the fate of all our domestic films... I have in mind the whole generation of young cinematographers that came into being with biased criteria and distorted notions of "what is good and what is bad"...It seems ironic that our youth has watched the notoriety and decorations easily obtained by other "maitres", but has often itself been infected by the same dangerous bacilli...

[Question] Therefore, if we want to think about the future, then we have to create the conditions now for a radical change in our common cause. In other words, we must start selecting people for the decisive position of cinematographer on a basis whose requirements are different from those that have been in effect for many years and to which we have already become accustomed...

[Answer] Absolutely. This situation is now showing some marked changes for the better. The new board secretariat of the Union of Cinematographers is undertaking vigorous efforts to restructure cinematographic operations. We can see hopeful trends. I am hopefully expecting the showing of films that are being leased with the aid of the arbitration tribunal that has been set up in the Union. I am impatiently awaiting the promised opportunity to see pictures by Bergman, Fellini, Bunuel, Foss, and other major foreign masters that were finally purchased by our leasing organizations. I am pleased to see the appearance of the much-discussed domestic films "Confession" by T. Abuladze, "Plumbum..." by A. Mindadze and V. Abdrashitov, and "Badge of Misfortune" by M. Ptashuk.

[Question] Viewers are expecting to see considerably more films directly concerned with today's complex problems and acute controversial issues of contemporary life. To which of those issues, in your opinion, should cinematographers give special attention?

[Answer] There must not be any banned subjects for an artist, just as there cannot be "prize-winning," "prestigious," or "priority" themes. The main thing in all genres and forms of art is to speak the truth. The truth about life, about people, and about our times. The way this is done by V. Rasputin in "Conflagration," by V. Astafyev in "The Sad Detective," by Ch. Aytmatov in "The Snow Swept Train Stop" [And Longer than the Century Lasts the Day] and in "The Executioner's Block," by R. Bykov in "Scarecrow," by A. German in "Road Test," and by K. Lopushanskiy in "Letters of a Dead Man"...

How are we getting along? What is happening to us? What kind of people are we? Who is to blame? What is to be done? These eternal questions of Russian and world literature and of all the humanities are still the focus of our attention today. But those questions require fuller amplification. So that

the problem is not one of subject or genre, but rather the extent to which we grasp life's contradictions and truth. I am not at all against political films per se, since one of my own favorite roles was the role evoked by the fate of Allende in the film "The Centaurs." But when the screen gushes with a relentless flow of so-called contra-propaganda films that have been cut in a primitive fashion, you understand that what you have is a compromising of genre, studio reputation, and ideas that are dear to us...

The Baltic film makers have been particularly "successful" in this area. They have specialized in the production of "hits" based on foreign materials. I think we should resolutely discontinue to support all of this pseudopolitical cinematic pulp and concentrate primarily on our own problems of which, as you know, we have plenty. It is important that we probe those problems thoroughly, remembering that the search for the truth is also the aim of art.

[Question] Speaking of film-making problems and grasping for the truth through the medium of the screen, one must not lose sight of the actor himself, who is the principal conveyor of the author's ideas. Surely, you will agree that there have been very, very few actor successes in our films these days. If we just look back at last year's offerings, with the exception of Mikhail Ulyanov in "The Theme," and Rolan Bykov in "Road Test" and "Letters of a Dead Man," it would be very difficult to name any other bright and profound figures on the screen. What happened, have we run out of good actors?...

[Answer] Not at all, it's just that the actor problem is directly connected to film production... The fact of the matter is that even the most talented actor looks feeble on the screen if he doesn't have the help and support of the director. And if there are examples in the history of the theater where an artist, in spite of a show's superficial production and squalid conception, is somehow able to communicate with the audience by subduing the viewers by the enormity of his personality and the "heat" he generates on the stage, in the case of films, the mediocrity of the go-between (meaning the producer) can ruin any role played by a great master. It is no accident that major acting successes in our country are associated with the names of film directors.

It seems to me that most directors these days have lost their zeal for solid, profound work with actors. As long as 15 years ago, as I worked with Kozintsev, Zhalakyavichyus, and Kulish, I could allow myself two or three days to prepare for a crucial scene after having rehearsed it with the director. In the end, we could always retake the frames that did not come out well and do another reading. Today, we almost always shoot the scenes in the random interests of the randomly collected performers. The directors, restrained by the planned footage of film and economy of expenditures, will shoot whatever you suggest without thinking about an actor's role over and above the immediate goal or the film's concept. It seems to me that we should reexamine the standards we apply to the funds and time allocated to making films, particularly television films, so that we produce highly artistic films and not surrogates, and so that we produce genuine actor discoveries and not imitations of carelessly contrived roles.

Another aspect of the problem is to change the present system for assigning parts to actors. I am confident that this should be done in the preparatory period. In this way, the performer could surely undertake the preliminary work under the director's supervision, get his thoughts together, and come to the shooting site (or better, the rehearsal room) with a desire to comprehend the protagonist role completely and infuse his own essence into that role.

[Question] Any kind of haste in art is ruinous to art itself. A poet once said: "Service to the muses does not tolerate vanity." The ones who particularly suffer the consequences of haste are the young actors who cannot draw upon their experience and knowledge of life to compensate for the insufficient time they have to deliberate about their roles. Moreover, if a young actor encounters a young director who in turn is also in a hurry to shoot a film, the results can only be most unfortunate...

[Answer] As a representative of the older generation, I too am troubled by the training of our successors in the creative arts. The root of the problem lies not so much with the young people themselves as it does with their teachers. I often have occasion to be with young people who have graduated from the All-Union State Institute of Cinematography and theatrical academies, and I can clearly see that few of those graduates talk about their teachers with the enthusiasm and affection with which representatives of our older directors used to talk about Aleksandr Dovzhenko, Mikhail Romm...A gifted teacher has his own characteristics, but somehow this is forgotten in the process of developing the pedagogical establishment.

In no way do I wish or can I claim that all teachers in the creative VUZs are inhibiting the development of their pupils and emasculating their spirit of artistic courage and their zeal to seek unconventional forms. I know that certain instructors urge their students to try experimental and unconventional forms. But there are only a few such teachers, and consequently, only a few such pupils. But surely we know that a beginning director or actor can become his own person only through contact with a great artist. This has been proven by the entire course of cinematographic development. Therefore, if we want to reflect seriously about the future of the screen, we must very soon reexamine the process of training students in our advanced cinematography schools and instill a new spirit into them. This task must not be obstructed by delays and procrastination, because the cinematographer's tomorrow begins today.

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# TASHKENT NATIONALITY CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS SUMMARIZED

Tashkent OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 25 Nov 86) pp 65-67

[Summary by A. I. Ginzburg of the All-Union Scientific-Applied Methods Conference "Improvement of Nationality Relations in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Conference"]

[Text] An All-Union Scientific-Applied Methods Conference "Improvement of Nationality Relations in the Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress" was held in Tashkent April 3 -- 5, 1986. The conference was prepared by the Uzoek CP Central Committee, the party's Institute of History of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, the Council on Nationality Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, and the Uzbekistan section of that Council of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences. The total of 1,200 persons participated in the conference and included prominent scholars from Moscow, Leningrad and all of the union republics. Over 200 persons addressed the conference.

Speakers at the plenary sessions included First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee I. B. Usmanhodzhayev, Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee R. Kh. Abdullayeva, Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography and Chairman of the Council on Nationality Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Academician Yu. V. Bromley, Director of the party's Institute of History of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Academician of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Kh. T. Tursunov, Vice-President of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Academician of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences E. Yu. Yusupov, corresponding member of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences A. F. Dashdamirov, and corresponding member of the KiSSR Academy of Sciences V. P. Sherstobitov.

The speakers emphasized that the 27th CPSU Congress has outlined qualitatively new tasks in the development of Soviet society. Nationality problems occupied an important place among the broad range of social problems raised at the Congress. The brilliant resolution of the nationality question in the USSR represents one of the greatest triumphs of socialism. However, the consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of our nationality policy does not exclude, but on the contrary, assumes a continued creative advancement of the party's theory, strategy, and tactics aimed at further improvements in national relations in our country at the contemporary stage.

First of all, attention must be given to the question of greater contributions on the part of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and districts to an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the development of a unified national economic complex in accordance with their increased economic and intellectual potential. The specific nature of each republic's economic and cultural development allows the republic to make its own unique contribution to the common development of the country and to the national distribution of labor without any manifestations of tendencies toward national insulation, regionalism, and dependency inclinations.

The speakers pointed out the importance of undertaking a thorough study of the role played by national originality, the "national form" so to speak, in making maximum use of both the economic and intellectual resources of each nation. In particular, a study and practical accounting must be made of specific national labor traditions and the experience gained in the mastery of modern advanced manufacturing and production processes in the country's various republics and regions.

Included along these lines is the problem of improving ideological indoctrination efforts through the broad support of progressive traditions and customs that are conducive to a more active inclusion of the popular masses into the implementation of the party's policy line aimed at an acceleration of socioeconomic development.

No small role in this effort is played by language. This applies to both to the national languages as a means to the development of intra-national communication as well as, and particularly, to the further propagation of the Russian language as the principal vehicle of international communication and the instrument for providing the workers of all nationalities with active, broad, and timely access to all-union and global achievements in science, engineering, and technology.

The tasks related to an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development require harmonious national and international cooperation in the processes that are taking place in all spheres of our society, and primarily in such sectors as scientific-technical progress, better management, and a thorough development of the Soviet person's spiritual world.

Academician Yu. V. Bromley emphasized that the 27th Party Congress placed particular stress on the importance of overcoming the negative tendencies manifested in the 70's and beginning of the 1980's in our efforts to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development. In that connection, the speaker called attention to the fact that the indicated tendencies had, so to speak, "nationality aspects." In particular, the level of differentiation between the republics has recently intensified in a number of indices. This is partially due to the uneven ethnodemographic development of some republics. However, there are apparently other causes.

The differences among the union republics with respect to the growth rate of productivity in industry are considerable. Thus, in the last 15 years that rate in Belorussia has been three times the rate in Tajikistan. In Kazakhstan

the amount of national income "taken off" a unit of fixed production capital is one third less than the Union-wide average. In Turkmenia there has been no growth at all over the past 15 years in national labor productivity. Of course, there are differences between the republics in the industrial sector structure, but there are also obvious shortcomings in the vocational training of personnel, a slow rate of incorporating scientific-technical achievements into production, etc.

Of additional concern are the data on the growing gap between union republics with respect to the development of the material-technical base of their domestic and cultural spheres of life. For example, in 1970 the seating capacity per 10,000 persons at eating establishments in Latvia exceeded that of Turkmenia by 461 places, and the difference in the two extreme cases (in Estonia and Tajikistan) in 1984 was 610 places.

Thus, there are present-day problems in the sphere of national processes as well. As was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, "our accomplishments must not create the impression that there are no problems in the national processes. The contradictions that are inherent in any evolution are also inevitable in that sphere." (1)

In order to resolve these problems, the 12th Five-Year Plan calls for profound qualitative changes in the structure of republic-level economic complexes. Each republic will have a special system of measures designed for the effective utilization of the labor potential. An accelerated development of machine-building has been slated in the Transcaucasus republics for a number of food industry sectors in order to compensate for the production of viticulture products. In the Central Asian republics, along with an intensification of their cotton growing specialization, there will be an accelerated development of associated industrial sectors (cotton processing, agriculture machine building, mineral fertilizer production, and textile industry) and the transfer of central enterprises to small cities adjacent to the rural areas. There is very reason believe that this will help the further indigenization of the working class.

The demographic situation that is emerging in most oblasts of the country, and particularly in the European part of the USSR, is one of the serious problems that has become an increasingly urgent problem in recent years. The essence of that problem is that there has been a definite shift towards a one or two-child family among Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Baltic, and certain other peoples both in the urban and rural areas. The comparatively satisfactory birth rate throughout the USSR as a whole is due to the indigenous peoples of Central Asia, the Kazakhs and Azerbaijanis whose natural growth rate is double that of the USSR average. It is hoped that the consistent implementation of the measures outlined in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress will stimulate a higher growth rate among the population in the European part of the Union.

The speakers also touched upon a number of other vital problems that are related to decisions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress.

The conference's subsequent work was conducted in seven sections. Thus, 86 specialists in the history of the CPSU, scientific communism, and the history of the USSR spoke at the section "Basic Directions for CPSU Action on Improving National Relations" (chaired by Academician of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Kh. T. Tursunov and corresponding member of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences A. F. Dashdamirov). Their discussions covered the following five basic problems: General theoretical and methodological problems of national relations, the multi-faceted activity of the CPSU to improve those relations, state-legal questions of national relations, and criticism of bourgeois falsifiers.

Forty papers and addresses were heard and discussed on various aspects of the internationalist education of the masses at the section "International Education as a Component Part of Improving the Socialist Way of Life" (chaired by doctors of historical sciences T. A. Zhdanko and M. I. Iskanderov). Particular attention was given to identifying the reasons for the survival of past nationalism and religious ideology, and to finding ways and means to overcome them.

The work of the section "Acceleration of Socioeconomic Development and the National Processes" (chaired by doctor of philosophical sciences T. R. Aodushukurov and doctor of historical sciences O. I. Snkaratan) proceeded on the basis of a broad discussion of problems raised in copies of the main papers that had been previously distributed to the section participants. Over 40 persons participated in the deliberations. They primarily discussed problems related to a broad analysis and utilization of the unique labor experience accumulated by each people through many generations. The discussions emphasized that the principal productive force was and remains the human being with his knowledge, ability, and readiness to work for the good of the Homeland effectively and creatively. Therefore, ethnic (national) characteristics have a direct bearing on the national economic specialization of the republics and regions, on the mastery of new engineering and technology, and on the various ways in which modern production can be organized. Scientific and technical development is closely related to urbanization and the problems of urbanized working conditions.

The participants of the section "Improvement of the Spiritual Life of the Peoples of the USSR and National Relations" (chaired by doctor of historical sciences L. M. Drobizheva and corresponding member of the KiSSR Academy of Sciences V. P. Sherstobitov) concentrated their attention on such problems as the ideological content of spiritual culture and its reflection of internationalism ideas, the dialectics of the national and international in artistic culture (literature, music, and the fine arts), the psychological aspects of national relations, problems in the cultural formation of international communication primarily in labor collectives and in military subdivisions.

Over thirty persons took part in the discussions. Their statements reflected the clear advances achieved in establishing various interdisciplinary studies of national culture and national relations. Thus, the approach adopted by philosophers, including associates at the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law, towards a resolution of the indicated problems was



noted for its considerable specific content (particularly, the results of ethnosociological studies). The most pointed discussions dealt with the utilization of national originality in culture and in ideological efforts to improve world outlook perceptions, the criteria for studying actual equality and the equalization of the cultural development of peoples, the psychological perception of capital investment effectiveness, etc.

The section "Problems in the Improvement of Bilingualism in the Soviet Multinational Society" (chaired by doctor of historical sciences M. N. Guboglo, doctor of philological sciences Yu. D. Desheriyev, and doctor of philosophical sciences K. Kh. Khanazarov) examined problems dealing with the further propagation and improvement of bilingualism in the USSR, i.e., each USSR citizen's fluent command of Russian as the medium of international communication as well as fluency in his native tongue. Up to 60 persons addressed the section. Although they noted that the Russian language is broadly prevalent among all the nations and nationalities of the USSR as a whole, the speakers declared that in accordance with the 1979 census, more than one-half of the persons of non-Russian nationality still had a poor command or no command at all of the Russian language. In many instances painstaking, purposeful, daily work on propagating the Russian language was supplanted by words and shows of success that had adversely affected the international training of the masses and the struggle against religious and other relics of the past as well as the training of national personnel. The importance of Russian language fluency for future soldiers of the Soviet Army was also emphasized. Notice was taken of the poor work being done on the compilation of Russian-national and national-Russian, industrial, and explanatory bilingual dictionaries, shortcomings in the training of teachers, and in the teaching of Russian to representatives of the non-Russian nationalities. At the same time, it was pointed out that any disparagement of the role and importance of one's native language is not to be tolerated.

The section "National and International Traditions in the Improvement of the Soviet Way of Life" (chaired by doctor of philosophical sciences O. P. Umurzakova and doctor of historical sciences S. A. Arutyunov) discussed the correlation of national and international factors in the improvement of the Soviet way of life. A total of approximately 40 persons presented statements. They emphasized the role of national traditions that are of a genuinely popular and progressive character. At the same time they said that any confusion between national concepts and religious ritual must not be tolerated. They pointed out the insufficient use of popular traditions in the designing of rituals for contemporary holidays and customs. Particular attention was given to overcoming negative phenomena in everyday life that contradict the standards of socialist morality.

The section "Social-Cultural Development of National Groups in an International Medium" (chaired by doctor of historical sciences I. S. Gurvich) was the first of its kind to be included in these types of conferences. The section joined scholars engaged in these problems, particularly those working in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Twelve persons presented papers. They touched upon various theoretical and practical aspects of national relations among the indicated population groups.

The overall work of the conference was summed up at a closing plenary session which emphasized that the conference proceeded at the appropriate ideological, theoretical, scholarly, and organizational level that included a high degree of active member participation. Specific recommendations were prepared for all the problems that were discussed and a detailed resolution was adopted. The conference materials will be published. The participants decided to hold the next conference of the Council on National Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium in 1988 in the Georgian SSR capital city of Tbilisi.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVII syezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1986, p 53.

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#### UZBEK BOOK ON MULTINATIONAL STATE CONSTITUTION REVIEWED

Tashkent OSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 25 Nov 86) pp 62-65

[Review by O. A. Belkov of book "Razvitiye konstitutsionnykh osnov sovetskogo mnogonatsionalnogo gosudarstva" [Evolution of the Constitutional Principles of the Soviet Multinational State] by E. Yusupov, Ts. Stepanyan, R. Salikov, and I. Kopylov, Uzbekistan, Tashkent, 1985, 248 pages]

[Text] The resolution of the nationality problem occupies a special place among the remarkable accomplishments of the Land of the Soviets. As pointed out in the revised edition of the Program of the CPSU, the equality of rights and friendship of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR constitute one of the most important characteristics of the advancement of socialism.

Marxist-Leninist social science studies have been giving constant and intensive attention to an extensive substantiation of this characteristic and to an analysis of its substance and forms of manifestation. A recent illustration of that effort is the collective monograph "The Evolution of the Constitutional Principles of the Soviet Multinational State" published by the Uzbekistan publishing house.

The book under review is not a repetition of previously published works. Written on a high professional level, it is the result of the authors' creative approach to problems that seemingly have already been rather thoroughly investigated and well recognized. The book represents a fruitful and as a whole successful attempt to trace the organic interconnection and mutual dependence between the national and international processes that have been unfolding in the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the changing constitutional vital standards of our multinational state on the other.

The authors emphasize that the evolution of the constitutional principles of the Soviet multinational state represents a most important aspect of the governing process serves as a legal buttress for the building of the national and national-state apparatus.

The work gives considerable attention to an analysis of Lenin's instructions, appraisals, and conclusions on the problem under examination. Moreover, the authors do not simply reproduce some particular thought of V. I. Lenin, but

trace the evolution of his thinking. They thoroughly discuss the evolution of scientifically substantiated and politically appraised concepts of the nature of international relations under socialism and the requirements for a constitutional regulation of socialist national relations.

An unalterable basic principle of Marxism-Leninism has been and remains the unconditional recognition of the rights of nations to full equality and self-determination.

However, that which is perceived today as something taken for granted was not so obvious during the stormy transitional period of the country's revolutionary revival. It took the genius of Lenin to find, to substantiate thoroughly, and to champion those specific state forms and political institutions which would make it possible to implement the overall ideas and prerequisites of a national program. This was the way of socialist federalism.

In analyzing the substance of many of V. I. Lenin's works, the authors have amply demonstrated his understanding for the need, nature, and essence of "a federation of free republics comprised of different nations." In that connection, the authors' analysis of Lenin's works is based on a considerable wealth of specific historic material which illustrates for the reader the circumstances that were actually unfolding in the party, the country, and the world that actuated the elaboration and refinement of political slogans and requirements with respect to the nationality question as well as dictated their content.

This allowed the authors to level convincing criticism against various extremist views (confedalist, autonomist, separatist) on solving the nationality problems. However, the previously held concept of "cultural-national autonomy" was not subjected to a sufficiently critical elucidation. In the meantime, we hear some echoes of that concept even today. As was mentioned at the 27th CPSU Congress, "the aspiration to national exclusiveness, regionalism, and dependency inclinations have not yet been eliminated and at times are expressed in an unhealthy manner."

On the positive side the authors formulate the system and mechanism underlying the interaction between the Leninist principles of building a socialist national state. Dependent upon the range of their activity, they fall into five groups: 1) principles whose action is disseminated to all sectors of life in a socialist society and specifically manifested in the area of national relations; 2) the guiding principle for the organizational structure of all forms of a socialist political system, again specifically manifested in the building of a national state; 3) principles underlying the basis of a socialist state; 4) principles for the building of a Soviet national state; 5) principles of Soviet federation. The monograph discloses the substance and role of all of the principles for each of the aforementioned groups.

In general and as a whole the authors' presentation appears to be convincing and acceptable. But the perception of their position becomes complicated to a certain degree since there is no concise definition of the basis that is used to classify the principles, and their characteristics are merely analyzed at



the general theoretical level. This unjustified pattern in turn entails additional misunderstandings. One finds it difficult to agree with the statement that "the principle of national equality of rights is a direct embodiment of the principle of internationalism." Only one aspect of internationalism is incorrectly over-emphasized in this kind of formulation although the authors themselves had written a little earlier that internationalism means solidarity, mutual assistance, and cooperation among free and equal peoples.

The work gives detailed attention to the manner in which V. I. Lenin's theoretical conclusions became the legal norm which defined the substance and activity of all of societies' institutions.

A successful feature of the work under review is its solid source and documentary base upon which the authors analyze the emergence and development of the political and legal foundations of the Soviet multinational state.

True, not everything here was examined fully and in a strictly chronological sequence. On the one hand, a number of important documents which generalized and firmly established the experience gained in the building of a national state did not get the elucidation they deserve. Thus, the reader's attention is not focused on the constitutional basis of the evolving military build-up and the defense activities of a socialist multinational state. At the same time, several important decisions are examined in the book with practically no relevance to the multinational character of Soviet society.

The process of improving national relations in the USSR is often traced primarily, and sometimes exclusively, on the basis of party documents. Of course, the decisions of the Communist Party predetermine the nature and direction of building a constitution. However, an analysis of those documents alone cannot yield an exhaustive treatment of the book's principal theme. Surely, the constitutional principles of the state receive direct impetus in the legislative acts of the state authorities and above all in the constitutions.

The book objectively makes a thorough analysis of all four Soviet constitutions: The RSFSR Constitution of 1918, and the USSR Constitutions of 1924, 1936, and 1977. Corresponding chapters of the book offer profound and thorough analyses of the economic, social-political, and ideological changes in Soviet society that prepared the conditions that were to determine the need and simultaneously the possibility, to strengthen a consistent socialist democracy in the area of national relations.

It is noted with particular pleasure that the authors employ expansive statistical-reference material and a variety of specific historical facts to substantiate and illustrate their own theoretical conclusions. The result is that the reader is presented with a clear, convincing panorama of the historical achievements of the USSR, including those made in the area of national relations.

The broad use of local materials is an absolute merit of the book. Of considerable interest in particular is the chapter which deals with the emergence and development of national statehood among the peoples who made the transition to socialism by bypassing capitalism. The processes of building a national state here are examined in direct relation to the building of the party and the organizational and ideological-theoretical reinforcement of the local party organizations. The authors also analyze the internationalist position of the Russian working class which rendered enormous assistance to all workers in the socialist transformation of public life.

The imposing results of the party's titanic revolutionary-transformative activity are elucidated in the book on the basis of analysis of the achievements of Soviet Uzbekistan in the fraternal family all of the country's peoples. Those accomplishments in a concentrated form embody and reflect the great vital force of the Leninist nationality policy.

The authors emphasize that the legal-governmental implementation of that policy was sustained and is being sustained by the Soviet Constitutions each of which was an ascending stage in the history of the Land of the Soviets and a new era in the development of socialist democracy.

The authors present a solid discussion about the text of each Soviet Constitution and offer thorough substantiation, analysis, and commentary on their basic ideas, principles, and clauses. Because of that feature, the book, in the first place, traces and concisely formulates the basic principles of the Soviet social and state system which unalterably attend and consolidate in spirit the first decrees of Soviet rule, the RSFSR Constitution of 1918, and all three Constitutions of the USSR.

In the second place, the work explains in detail the features of each Constitution as determined by specific historical conditions and the circumstances under which it was designed.

The authors investigate the subject of their book by adhering to a unity of historical and logical analysis. This has enabled them to present a rather complete picture of how the constitutional structure evolved, and what actual processes it reflected and stimulated. At the same time, based on actual facts, the authors were able to draw profound generalizations and substantiated theoretical conclusions. Warranting particular attention in the book are the discussions about the stages of the Soviet people's emergence and development as a new historical community of people, the nature and essence of national sovereignty, the characteristics of national feelings on the part of persons and nations, the correlation between Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism in the conscience of the Soviet people, the substance and depth of the concept "common Soviet pride," reasons for the retention and forms in which relics of nationalism are manifested in a socialist society, etc.

The presentation of positive material is accompanied by a convincing criticism of bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of the Leninist nationality program, and the history of the development and contemporary status of national relations in the USSR. However, the authors do not embellish history

and do not idealize our life. They frankly speak about our difficulties and mistakes, including those of the recent past, and about the Communist Party's resolute struggle against any deviations from the Leninist principles of our nationality policy.

Thus, the book under review constitutes a relatively integrated and rather complete exposition of the history and theory of building a Soviet national state and the legal and constitutional regulation of national relations in Soviet society from the first days of the revolution to the present time. The principal theme of the book has been elaborated and treated in a way that as a whole corresponds to the contemporary status and level of our knowledge about the problem under examination.

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DOCTORS' CRIMINAL LIABILITY IN MALPRACTICE CASES DEBATED

Legal System Must Provide More Precise Guidelines

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST in Russian No2, Feb 87 (signed to press 30 Jan 87) pp 49- 50

[Article by K. Popov, honored jurist of the RSFSR: "Medical Workers Not Criminally Liable for Professional Errors"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The editorial board receives quite a few articles concerning the liability of medical workers who have committed breaches of professional obligations. The authors express a variety of viewpoints, the results of life and practice, regarding this problem. There is no simple solution to this problem. The inadequate elucidation of this problem in theory and slipshod legislative regulation have also had a telling effect. We direct the attention of this article's readers to this problem.

In his story, "The Physician", Mikhail Zoshchenko writes, "Citizens, more and more physicians are being judged in the people's courts these days. One, you see, operated with unsterile hands, another's glasses fell off his nose into the patient's intestines and he couldn't find them, and a third lost a lancet among a patient's internal organs, or else failed to excise the organ he should have, like some sort of inexperienced little old lady.

This isn't the way the Europeans do it. This is crass ignorance, and these doctors ought to be judged."

All of us hold Zoshchenko's humor in high regard. But how humorous is it to procurators and witnesses, and even more to physicians, when the relatives of the deceased write numerous complaints demanding that doctors be brought in for criminal liability, convinced that the cause of death was not disease, but their carelessness and negligence. It is also possible that the complaints may result in a superficial and one-sided approach to assessing what has occurred, if elementary medical knowledge is not applied. At any rate, it is the procurators, witnesses and courts who must provide the answer to whether doctors are to answer for errors made in the performance of their jobs, and whether they should be subjected to criminal or disciplinary action. As for the doctors, many of them have no doubt that an error can make them subject to



criminal liability. One often hears doctors say "I don't want to be taken to court because of you."

As evidenced by years of judicial and procurator's practice and various scientific works, the question of the liability of medical workers for their blunders is by no means indisputable.

Professor B. Zdravomyslov contends that medical employees cannot be considered as having committed criminal offenses for errors made in the execution of their duties.

M. Maleina, in her article "Legal Classification of the Medical Error" writes, "...from the legal standpoint, we need to distinguish legally culpable deeds committed by those in the medical profession (and institutions), and cases where a patient is harmed but with an absence of guilt. By law, the first of these is classified as a violation of the law (a crime or delinquency) which entails criminal, disciplinary or civil-legal liability, and in the second example, the "case" consists in the absence of guilt and liability" ("SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO" [The Soviet State and the Law], No 9, 1984). Frankly speaking, the above dictum is pseudo-scientific, but vague. In any case, it follows from it that medical error can sometimes be criminally punishable as well.

The handbook "A Medical-Legal Appraisal", prepared by Candidate of Medical Sciences Ye. Krasovskaya, and published in 1985, had no clear-cut answer to this question.

Nor does the USSR Supreme Court Plenum provide any guiding elucidation concerning this problem. Possibly this stems from the fact that there are few so-called medical matters to deal with, and thus little legal practice.

The practice of the procurator's agencies provides a somewhat richer yield. Procurators frequently institute criminal action against doctors because of complaints from relatives of persons who have died, or even based on materials which have been sent from health-care services administration agencies in connection with signs of negligence on the part of doctors.

But most of these actions have been dropped due to the lack of a corpus delicti, since medical law experts do not usually look into the activities of doctors for any violations whatsoever of regulations or medical directives. All the same, doctors are held criminally liable for some matters.

In the Moscow Oblast city of Kaliningrad, surgeon M., of the city hospital was convicted for failing to make a close study of a patient's chart, which noted that antibiotics were contraindicated for her (the note was not on the chart's title page). Knowing only the patient's reply that she could take all medicines with no problem, during the operation the doctor gave her antibiotics, from which she died on the operating table. As came out during the subsequent investigation, the patient, fearing that the doctor would refuse to perform the operation, concealed her intolerance of antibiotics. In compliance with the procurator's conclusions, the sentence was revoked in a

court of appeals, and the affair was closed due to the absence of a corpus delicti in the actions of the convicted doctor.

It appears that medical employees can be held criminally liable for their professional activities only when there are elements of malfeasance or special elements of corpus delicti (for example, a refusal to render medical aid).

There is no particular contradiction with respect to special elements of corpus delicti. The most controversial question is whether errors made by doctors in the performance of their professions come under the concept of malfeasances (usually negligence or abuse of one's official position).

First of all, it has to be determined whether doctors are officials. There is no argument about the official position of head physicians, their deputies, department heads and managers of other subdivisions. Depending on the reason these rights were abused or not applied, they are held liable in accordance with statutes 170, 172 and 173 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and with corresponding Criminal Code articles of other union republics.

Doctor T., head physician of one of Moscow's hospitals, was found guilty in accordance with Article 172 of the RSFSR Criminal Code for denying hospitalization to N., who was brought in by ambulance with a brain hemorrhage, because the patient was not registered in that particular hospital. Meanwhile the ailing man was in need of urgent intensive care, something the doctor and department head insisted upon. The patient was sent to another hospital. But because of the time which had been lost, he died. Externally, this case is similar to that of refusing to render medical aid. But an investigation established that Chief Physician T. underestimated the seriousness of the patient's condition, believing that sending him to another hospital would have no effect on the outcome of his ailment.

As for blunders (i.e. honest diagnostic and treatment-related mistakes) made by doctors in the performance of their professional duties, we feel that Professor B. Zdravomyslov is correct in believing that these errors do not constitute malfeasance. And that in these cases neither general practitioners or officials such as head physicians and department heads etc. are not criminals when they are carrying out the purely professional duties of a doctor.

#### Must Be Liable for Incorrect Diagnosis

Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST in Russian No 2, Feb 87 (signed topress 30 Jan 87) pp 50-51

[Article by A. Yazukhin, procurator of the city of Solkikamsk, Perm Oblast: "And in the Case of Death or Other Serious Consequences?"]

The problem of the liability of medical workers for breaches of their professional obligations is inarguably urgent. Must doctors be held criminally responsible for failing to carry out diagnostic research, for failing to take treatment-related steps, for leaving foreign objects in patients etc.?

Professionally irregular acts on the part of medical personnel consist in violating the instructions, statutes and rules which consolidate their primary responsibility--which is to render medical aid, or to give treatment. A cursory examination of a patient often leads to an incorrect diagnosis. Hence incorrect treatment as well, which frequently leads to grave consequences for the patient.

Let us look at some examples. A superficial and careless examination conducted by Doctor G. led to the death of patient K. He was brought into the hospital's receiving department with a dull stomach trauma. Doctor G. did not consider this an important symptom and so failed to call in a surgeon for consultation, failed to schedule laboratory tests and failed to have the patient observed through the night. As a result, he made an incorrect diagnosis, and failed to prescribe either medicine or a course of treatment. These acts were inimical to public safety. However, no criminal proceedings were instituted against Doctor G., since his actions do not fall into the category of organizational or management policy, and consequently the article on malfeasance (RSFSR Criminal Code Article 172) could also not be applied.

Kh., a doctor's assistant at a village dispensary in the Perm Oblast's Vankovo Krasnovishnerskiy Rayon, having examined patient B, failed to determine the nature of an injury to her chest and left shoulder, failed to palpate the injured area, failed to auscultate the respiratory organs, did not do everything necessary to make a diagnosis, did not analyze the information on the patient's condition and did not hospitalize her. And because the doctor's assistant failed to carry out his professional duties with regard to diagnosing the injuries and did not promptly hospitalize the patient, she died. Criminal proceedings in the case of the Doctor's Assistant Kh. were dropped for the same reasons as the preceding example.

Unfortunately, one also encounters actions as careless as leaving foreign objects in patients during operations.

It is impossible not to see the seriousness of these situations. So what are we to make of this?

Failure to take diagnostic tests and treatment-related measures, leaving foreign objects in patients during operations, improper use and storage of medicines, all of which have caused serious consequences must, in our opinion, be made grounds for making medical personnel criminally liable. ANY BREACH OF PROFESSIONAL OBLIGATIONS COMMITTED BY MEDICAL PERSONNEL IN THE COURSE OF TREATING A PATIENT, WHICH BREACH CAUSES DEATH OR SERIOUS HARM TO THE PATIENT'S HEALTH, SHOULD ESTABLISH CRIMINAL LIABILITY AS AN INDEPENDENT CORPUS DELECTI HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH THE MEDICAL OR PHARMACEUTICAL EMPLOYEE'S OFFICIAL POSITION.

Socialist countries have similar norms in their criminal legislation. Thus, Article 123 of the Criminal Code of the People's Republic of Bulgaria states: "Whoever, through ignorance or the careless performance of his profession or other activity regulated by law, increases the danger to, or causes the death

of another person shall be punished by loss of freedom for a period of up to 5 years."

The Article's disposition regulates breaches of professional obligations, which persons employed in the field of medicine can commit both through ignorance or by carelessly doing their work.

The introduction into the RSFSR Criminal Code of a special article calling for criminal liability for medical employees will, in our opinion, unify the legal practice and help to see that the principle of inescapable punishment is observed.

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PROPOSED LAW ENTITLES CITIZENS TO PROTEST OFFICIALS' ACTIONS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 87 p 3

[Discussion by journalist Yu. Feofanov and Professor S. Savitskiy, doctor of juridical sciences: "I Seek the Protection of the Court!"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] As we know, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee has discussed work to prepare the Law on Procedures for Court Complaints against Acts of Officials That Violate the Rights of Citizens. Discussion of the draft is coming up in the standing committees of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The readers are asking a number of questions in this connection. Some of them are discussed today by journalist Yu. Feofanov and Professor V. Savitskiy, doctor of juridical sciences.

[Feofanov] We are going to celebrate the 10th anniversary of our Constitution this year. But its 58th article still merely declares the most important rights of citizens. Now that it has been stated from the highest forum that we must put this norm into practice, hardly anyone doubts that this will be done. But obviously it was not accidental that everything dragged on so. I know, Valeriy Mikhaylovich, that you have been fighting long and hard for the implementation of Article 58. I also asked questions of important officials in the legal system. They told me that the courts are already greatly overloaded. This would not seem to be a serious argument when we are talking about a Constitutional (!) norm. But still there is some sense in this: a Law is all well and good, but we live in a world of harsh realities. The courts could simply drown under the flood of complaints.

[Savitskiy] It is not a matter of the load on the courts, although that factor cannot be entirely disregarded. The main reason, I am convinced, is something else, departmental ambitions. How can we transfer to the courts disputes that have always been decided secretly? This is just like publicizing internal problems, undermining the authority of administrative organs, an attack on their independence. That is what many thought until very recently. And this opinion literally blocked the work of various commissions and groups who were forced to endlessly reconcile and coordinate everything in addition to detailed polishing of the draft law.

[Feofanov] Do you think that replacing a complaint to the officials with a complaint to the court can seriously protect a person against arbitrary and unlawful actions? But in the first place, officials differ: given the exactingness which is shown in work with workers' letters and complaints, the bureaucratic approach has not been universal. Many complaints have been resolved promptly and attentively. I agree that there have also been ones that were not. But still, the court procedure is also fraught with the danger of red tape. Won't it come out that we observe democratism formally, but in fact we will make it harder for citizens to resolve a question quickly. Moreover, judges too can make incorrect decisions.

[Savitskiy] No matter how favorable the conditions are made for citizens, the possibility of appealing an official's decision to a higher-ranking administrative organ and the relations that develop as the result of submitting a complaint will always remain administrative law relations, that is, with the citizen and his problems on one side and the officials on the other. There is no need to say that the citizen feels far from confident when he takes a complaint to the superior of the official whose decision or act he considers unlawful. And the person who reviews the complaint is not too inclined to acknowledge a mistake made by an employee of the apparatus subordinate to (and directed by) him. And then he may see a stream of complaints coming up, giving rise to justified accusations and consuming a huge amount of time from people on various levels.

The court is another matter. It has no departmental interest. And if you add in the broad publicity [glasnost] of deliberations and the direct examination of all evidence... These are the generally recognized advantages of the court procedure. The citizen and the administrative organ (official) come before the court as parties who have equal procedural opportunities to prove the truth of their allegations and dispute the arguments of the other side. It is not a timid argument by a humbled "suppliant" with the all-powerful head of an office, but rather an open contest of trial participants with equal rights. Add to this the possibility that procurators, lawyers, and representatives of the labor collective can participate in court. It is clear that court control is just what can be a real guard against bureaucratic misinterpretations that violated the rights and lawful interests of the individual. Experience has shown that court decisions in administrative disputes are overruled much less often than decisions made by the administrative organs themselves. And it is even rarer for citizens to appeal them (less than five percent).

[Feofanov] You refer to experience, which means that we have some experience. That is, people are ready to take illegal actions by officials to court today. In that case, what new things will we get from this law, which has been so long in preparation? As far as I know, Valeriy Mikhaylovich, you participated in working up the draft of the future law. Would you lift the curtain and tell us what is there?

[Savitskiy] A great deal depends on what amendments are made in the draft at the last minute. But I have a good idea of what the new law is supposed to do. It is true that certain acts by state organs and officials can be appealed to court today. Complaints are made for wrongful discharge from work,

mistakes in voter rolls, against orders of GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] taking away driving rights and confiscation of property by financial organs to pay tax indebtedness, and to declare housing orders ineffective. In all court control applies to about 30 actions and decisions of administrative organs. All the same, this is not at all enough to protect human rights. The Constitution was not written just to sanction existing practices. We must greatly enlarge the list of acts which can be appealed to the court. But what criteria should guide us in this?

This is a hard question. For a long time it was the stumbling block in working out the draft law. It was thought, for example, that the "global" approach would be unacceptable, that it would be easiest to make up a list of acts that could be appealed to the court and gradually, as experience accumulated, enlarge the list.

[Feofanov] I have an ambivalent attitude toward all these lists. On the one hand a precise norm is attractive. But it always suffers from incompleteness. Yet if a principle is written into law without detailization, you will agree that this also leads to different interpretations and, ultimately, to uncertainties, which are deadly to the law. Incidentally, at a certain meeting your colleague dropped a wise phrase. "The jurist's dream," he said, "is a law without reference norms."

[Savitskiy] That is practically impossible. And for the given case it is simply harmful. Suppose we expand the list of acts from 30 to 50, 80, or even maybe to 100. But still, exactly which acts should be put under court control? One of the drafts indicated the possibility of appealing to the court an unlawful refusal to set a pension. A reasonable step. But a question arises immediately: then why isn't it possible to appeal an unfairly low pension? It is good that the list includes unlawful refusal to issue a housing order; the dissatisfied person can take it to court. But what about the single mother whose child, for one reason or another, is not accepted in a nursery school? For her that is the crucial question, linked to her work, her future marriage, her entire life. But they will not accept the child, and she cannot appeal to the court -- the law does not provide for it. The same thing applies to applicants for admission to VUZes. Two young people get the same number of points on their exams and all their other indicators are roughly equal, but one is enrolled and the other is rejected. Can the rejected one appeal to the court? No, he cannot. Not a single draft of the law envisioned this.

[Feofanov] Do you really think that that is an occasion for a trial?

[Savitskiy] But do you have any serious arguments the other way? After all, we are talking about the young person's future, his calling, his fate if you like. Isn't this the most important thing for him at that time? Who knows if Russia would have had Lomonosov if they had refused to admit the young man from Kholmogorsk to the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy. Incidentally, in Poland for example the administrative courts have the right to review appeals of the decisions of competition commissions. Each year they have about 120,000 candidates for admission to VUZes, although there are only half that many places. You could expect that the 60,000 rejects would bury the courts with

their appeals. But that does not happen. As we know, courts do not check the examination scores; they only check on compliance with established admission rules. There are very few violations of those rules. And the courts do not receive more than a few dozen appeals in this category each year.

[Feofanov] What you have said leads to the conclusion that no list, no matter how complete it may seem to be, can envision all the possible cases of violation of citizens' rights and interests. The list will inevitably fail to cover certain acts or decisions that can, under certain conditions, cause damage. The victim of such acts or decisions will hardly be consoled with the explanation that after a while it will probably be possible to appeal them to the court; he has a right to insist on prompt compliance with the Constitutional prescription. What is the solution?

[Savitskiy] I see only one: the law on court appeal of acts by officials must be based on the criteria formulated in the Constitution itself. In other words, any acts "committed in violation of the law, exceeding authority, and infringing on citizens' rights" can be protested. Upon receiving an appeal the court should check to see if the act complained of has these features, and then make an appropriate decision. With no formal lists.

[Feofanov] According to the exact text of Article 58 of the USSR Constitution a court appeal is possible for the unlawful act of an official only, that is, an act done by the official individually. But what if the decision is made, for example, by an ispolkom or other administrative organ? Ultimately an influential official will always be able to conceal his own opinion in the guise of the decision of a collective organ. Isn't that the case? What about public organizations? The decision of the trade union committee, for example, is also capable of infringing, and plenty, on a citizen's lawful interests. Does it turn out that a person will find no protection from the court in such cases? It seems to me that science must state its opinion so that the planned norm is not truncated, cut off.

[Savitskiy] You're right, many decisions that affect citizens' interests are not made by individuals, but by organs. For example, the issuance of a housing order or refusal to issue it is formalized by a decision of the ispolkom of the local Soviet, the granting of a pension by a decision of the rayon social security commission, and imposition of a fine by decree of an administrative commission. It is good, of course, that the questions that are most important to a person are discussed and decided collectively; there will be fewer mistakes. But still mistakes cannot be completely precluded. How will they be corrected? Appeal through administrative levels, or turn to the court? If we focus on practical interests, real life, the final result, everyone can understand the logic of this reasoning: the rights of citizens can be violated by collective decisions, court control is the best way to protect citizens' rights, therefore citizens must be given the possibility of appealing in court collective decisions as well, if they violated their rights and lawful interests.

But if we approach this problem from the standpoint of the letter of the law (and this approach has predominated until recently), Part 2 of Article 58 of the Constitution in fact speaks only of acts by officials. This means that



collective decisions are not subject to court control. But what about the fact that they are a large majority? And what about the fact that they generally affect the most important questions for a person and any mistake by the "forum of responsible persons" may cost him dearly? Must we really close our eyes to all this, holding on to the literal wording? I think that that would be incorrect. Part 2 of Article 58 must be interpreted with due regard for the entire content of this article. The first part speaks of the right of citizens to appeal to any institution against acts not only by officials but also by state and public organs. The third part concerns compensating the citizen for the damages caused, and again, not just by officials but also by organs. The fact that the second part of this article does not mention organs is an unfortunate gap. I think that the citizen should have the possibility of appealing to the court any unlawful act, if he thinks that his rights have been violated. Exclusions from this rule threaten to turn the law into an empty declaration.

[Feofanov] Won't expansion of court appeals lead to curtailment of the procurator's activities? After all, people whose rights have been violated by unlawful acts of officials today go to the procurator. But if the court starts accepting appeals, the procurator may consider his intervention superfluous. Won't this have a negative effect on the guarantees of personal rights?

[Savitskiy] I don't think so. On the contrary, the procurator's possibilities will be increased. In my opinion, the right to go to court to have a document that unlawfully infringes on a citizen's interests reversed or modified should be given to the procurator as well. In such situations today the procurator brings his protest either to the official or to the higher-ranking administrative organ. With institution of the court procedure for hearing appeals it would be advisable to direct the procurator's protests in defense of citizen's rights to the court. This would correspond to V. I. Lenin's idea on the possibility of the procurator protesting unlawful decisions of local authorities to the court.

Of course, introduction of the new law will require certain organizational measures. It appears that the number of courts will have to be increased, and some of them should be specialized in this category of cases. But I do not share the idea of setting up independent courts with special legal status for administrative cases, because this contradicts the principle of citizens' equality before the court.

In general, the "first condition of any freedom is the responsibility of all government servants for all their official acts in relation to any citizen, before regular courts and under general law." Read these words of Engels closely. If the law is to truly protect citizens against arbitrary actions, it should be structured in exactly that way, without exceptions and reservations.

## LENINGRAD YOUTH DEMONSTRATE TO SAVE HISTORIC BUILDING

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by A. Yezhelev, IZVESTIYA special correspondent: "A Lesson in Democracy for Whom?"]

[Text] Leningrad -- There was an unusually large crowd of people last week where Gogol Street runs into St. Isaac's Square. As the crowd clustered near the square, people were making animated speeches, and arguments erupted that in one way or other touched upon the not so simple problem of preserving the old architecture of the city on the Neva. When the construction trucks appeared here in front of the fenced-off area that had been converted to a construction site, their path was blocked by young people whose joined hands prevented the trucks from getting to the site.

What was the reason for this sudden confrontation between construction workers and the city's inhabitants? Why were throngs gathering at the square day and night where somber silence alternated with boisterous debates which resembled political mass meetings? The young people were brought here by a perfectly clear goal -- to block the demolition of the former Angleterre hotel building.

The Leningrad public has long since been troubled by the continuing destruction of many of the old Petersburg buildings. Some of those buildings, such as the Trezini House on Vasilev Island or the residential building No 11 on Vladimir Island where the literary glory of Dostoevsky was begun, have been awaiting repairs for years and are turning into ruins. Others have quite recently been demolished without any particular reason. Still others are sadly destined for alterations that will rob them of their priceless interiors and decor.

It is self-evident that many old buildings must be reconstructed, and even demolished. It is also evident that not all of those buildings can or should be restored and preserved. That's not the point here. Any building in the city of Lenin is the property of each Leningrader, and in fact of the whole country. The very regard that the Soviet people have for this city demands that special care be given to decisions about the fate of old structures, and that the people should be consulted about these things with complete frankness and openness. In the meantime, the fate of several structures that are dear to the hearts not only of Leningraders but of all persons who care about our

history and our cultural monuments, is thus far being decided in private, behind tightly closed doors. This has little correspondence to the climate of openness that is presently being affirmed in the country. Recent alarms about this have been expressed in the local press, and there have been increasing responses from artistic, youth, and public organizations. For example, last fall a mass meeting sponsored by young people was held on the traditional lyceum day near the Delvig House which had been slated for demolition and a historic building which was once the residence of Pushkin, Gogol, and Glinka. The protesters succeeding in the defense of that building and it will be restored.

That is how it happened this time too. When a group of young Leningraders learned about the imminent demolition of the Angleterre building, they were surprised and perplexed. Why is someone secretly making a decision again, without consulting Leningraders, that affects the appearance of the city's principal squares? How is one supposed to perceive the appeals for openness in that light? On Monday, March 16, agitated by the rumors they heard, the young people went to the Angleterre. They were joined by volunteer restoration worker assistants from the Mir group who were working without pay on the restoration of many historic structures, activists from the cultural ecology council of the Club-81 literary association, students at vocational-technical schools, elementary schools, tekhnikums, workers, and students.

On hand to maintain order were people's patrol members of Forpost, an organization created by the pedagogical institute komsomols to control misdemeanors among teenagers, and of course, there were also militia personnel. Telegrams with appeals to halt the demolition of the building on St. Isaac's Square were sent to Moscow, including one sent to the USSR Ministry of Culture. The telegrams were signed by hundreds of Leningraders, but not a single response, either direct or indirect, was obtained for any of them--if one doesn't count, of course, two items that appeared in Leningrad newspapers on Tuesday to the effect that it was too late to change anything.

On the next day, despite the assurances by officials that the public appeal would be reviewed by the Leningrad Gorispolkom, the walls of the Angleterre were torn down before the eyes of the crowd that had filled the square.

The reverberations (should reverberations perhaps also be considered openness?) rolled forth in articles and radio and television statements which, in my view, cast many unjustified and offensive accusations at the young people as well as allusions borrowed from the past. They claimed that the "boys from St. Isaac's" ostensibly acted in accordance with a prescribed scenario and that "homespun commentators have muddled the waters." Because there were young persons in the crowd who do not know the prose of Yesenin whose life came to an end at the Angleterre, there was this ready conclusion: Those gathered at the square were not so much interested, it was claimed, in cultural values as they were in the opportunity to make some noise... Is it not obvious that neither a money-grubber, nor a crafty self-server, nor a philistine who is indifferent to everything, nor a cowardly careerist, nor a drunkard, in short, any spiritually degraded person, could not come to the defense of the demolished walls. No person could come here who had no historic memories, and yet without such memories a person cannot be a true

citizen, and without such memories there is not, nor can there be any true love for one's Fatherland. No one will argue that among those who stood watch at the Angleterre there were also some loiterers and probably some dubious types who were attracted to the boisterous events. But they were not in charge of the situation. That was indicated by the fact there were no excesses of any kind.

Behind the angry roar of accusations directed at the supporters of preserving the Angleterre there are somehow quite indistinct undertones of timid reproach to the effect that the public should have become familiar with the plan to reconstruct the hotel complex and should have studied the views expressed about the project and heeded them. These reproaches affected no one except the designers of the reconstruction plan. In fact, if one looks into the matter, the events that took place lead to more serious considerations. Perhaps the first acute signal has now been sounded in Leningrad that everything is not in order; that it is not enough merely to talk about restructuring of our lives on democratic principles and that is time to reorganize ourselves in practice. It is not enough merely to urge people to become socially active. It is high time to deal with the bureaucratic obstruction that has been impeding the manifestation of that social activity.

The persons who considered themselves to be the last defenders of the city's historically important objects, stood, nota bene, directly in front of the Leningrad soviet ispolkom building to which they turned with fixed gazes of hope. But there was no response forthcoming from the other side. On the next day a delegation of five persons went to the gorispolkom with a petition to halt the breakup of the Angleterre until it could be determined whether the demolition was legal without the approval of the USSR Ministry of Culture.

"We haunted the ispolkom's doorsteps for an hour, but to no avail. No one received us," said engineer M. Talalay, secretary of the council on cultural ecology. "We were told to leave our petition in the applications box, and that it would be examined in a month's time, they said."

After pacing around for a long time, they were received by L. Zagorovskaya. With all due respect to Lidiya Ivanovna, she is, after all, just an assistant to one of the eight deputy chairmen of the gorispolkom, and could only urge the people to leave the square, but she herself was not able to do anything about it.

The crowd at the square was agitated and continued to meet, but the construction workers, who apparently had precise instructions, were not about to stand around idly. Preparations for tearing down the building were proceeding full speed ahead. They cut down the support structure and hammered holes in the walls for attaching the tow tractor cables.

Deputy Chief of the Leningrad Main Administration of Internal Affairs, Militia Major General E. Tsvetkov reported that at mid-morning representatives of the young people were invited for an official high level conversation. In fact, they were met in the building across the way by deputy chairmen of the Leningrad Gorispolkom V. Matviyenko and B. Surovtsev, Chief City Architect S. Sokolov, Chief Inspector for the Protection of Monuments I. Sautov, and the



chief engineer for the hotel reconstruction project A. Pribulskiy. "We sat at a long table, each person opposite the other," recalled Aleksey Kovalev, "and I thought to myself: Surely, everyone at the table loves his city! Is that not so? Then surely we shall jointly conclude that it would be a great loss for the city (i.e., for all of us!) for this genuinely historic building to be replaced by a modern plaster molding. All the more so when we realize that we're talking about a building where such a nationally beloved poet spent his last days...And suddenly I hear: 'Well, fellows, so why do you want to hold on to this third class bug-infested place?' Does that mean we have merely been championing a bug-infested building? Is that it? Alas, those words were uttered by the very person who could have issued an order to stop the demolition."

In the course of the conversations, it was learned that an alternate plan to reconstruct the Angleterre had been prepared which would have retained the old building (in other words, the demolition was not obligatory), but that plan was abandoned because of economic considerations.

The conference ended without the desired results, and as the young people left, they once again repeated their request to halt the demolition until the legality of the operation could be clarified. After all, the building had been standing empty for two years. One could have waited for a few more days. What was the response? Take it easy, your request will be examined, and you will have an answer this evening.

I try, but I just can't understand why was it necessary for the supervisory personnel of the gorispolkom to promise something that they knew was unrealizable? Didn't they know that the preparations for the building's demolition were going to be completed and that the Angleterre would be collapsed by midday? That could not be! So, what were they counting on, that the young people would be assuaged, that they would disperse, and no longer demonstrate? But would they really forget?! Under the circumstances, that move could hardly be called a reasonable one.

The inability to live under the conditions of openness, like the recurrence of an old illness, turned into public dissension and an unnecessary inflammation of passions. In a conversation with professor Yu. Ushakov, board member of the Leningrad branch of the Union of Architects, I learned that the supervisor of the shop in which the draft plan for the hotel reconstruction project was designed, was asked more than a year ago to submit the plan for public discussion. This was not done. As early as last fall, the leadership of the Main Architectural Planning Administration, immediately following the Delvig House story, vowed that henceforth preliminary information would be provided about all reconstruction projects in the old section of the city. Nevertheless, in deciding the fate of the Angleterre, it not only ignored public opinion, but did not even take any interest in the position held by the Main Cultural Administration of Leningrad which, as it became clear from the board discussions, would not have given its approval to the building's demolition. So it turns out that even the two main committees of the Leningrad Gorispolkom were divided on this issue.

One would think that when the pickets appeared at the square -- a clear indication of an extraordinary situation -- the leadership of the ispolkom itself should have exhibited more circumspection and wisdom. In fact if the legality of the building's demolition was still in question and people were attempting to halt those operations until that question could be resolved on the basis of established state procedures, what was it that prevented that demand from being met? If the law was not being violated, why did the building have to be destroyed on just that Wednesday, and not later, without waiting for an official clarification of the question? There must be some kind of reasonable explanation for this. Why is it that some one in Leningrad, even today when the entire country is learning the democratic nature of relations, can demonstrate in spite of that summons that the voices of the citizenry need not be heeded?

I talked with personnel at the Main Architectural Planning Administration and the gorispolkom who with a certain strange premeditation drew the conversation to a discussion of the dilapidated walls of the old Angletterre, as if they could not understand that it was not an engineering question that put people on opposite sides of the question. But those who came out to defend an architectural fragment of a remarkable city apparently better understood the essence of what was going on. One of the speakers at the spontaneous meeting said: "Everything that is happening here is not only related to the reconstruction of a hotel, but to the restructuring of our lives and of the country. We have been summoned to participate in that restructuring and we want to believe that words will finally become deeds."

I have no doubt that the same conclusions would be drawn by people who have become wiser through everyday experience as well as through supervisory work. Is it not for them, for our children and grandchildren, and is it not together with them that we have begun the enormous task of renewing our life? Are they not, along with us, the rightful heirs of all that has been created before us and for us? Have we not become tired of the shallow young people who are indifferent to everything on earth? I am sure a thousand times over that if you were to invite, prove, and convince people of the good and necessary things being undertaken for everyone's benefit, then those persons in the picket lines themselves would also haul bricks like never before. But in order to do that, slogans must correspond to action, appeals must be followed by deeds, incantations about democratization must be met by the ability to live under democratic conditions.

And lastly--the Angletterre has been destroyed. But there are now indications that investigations have begun at schools and work places of persons who went out to the Angletterre to vote against this lobby decision, and there have been published discussions with law enforcement authorities where mention is made of laws that might be applied against those persons. And this could turn out to be the most bitter lesson of all.

In that connection, I want to quote the words of Academician D. Likhachev who appraised the events that took place in the following way: "It is indeed wonderful that the youth have so much love for their city, Yesenin, Delvig, and their history. It is something that should be considered. One must not trifle with people's better senses, or with the young people's surge toward renewal, openness, democratization, and their demand that the law be strictly upheld."

SOLOVYEV RESPONDS TO PUBLIC OUTCRY AT BUILDING'S DESTRUCTION

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Nikolay Bodnarek: "A Difficult Farewell to the Past"]

[Text] "A lesson for whom?" This question was repeated more than any other in the letters from readers who responded to the articles by A. Yezhelev "A Lesson for Whom?" and "A Lesson of No Value" (IZVESTIYA, Nos 88 and 99) which recounted the dramatic outpouring of passions brought about by the demolition of the former Angleterre hotel building in Leningrad.

"So for whom was that lesson?" asked the Leningradian R. Strukova. "Was it for those who made thoughtless decisions and resorted to primitive deception or for those who did not want to accept that kind of action? The young people went to the square because they were summoned. We were all called upon to participate in restructuring. We were addressed with penetrating words appealing to our courage, patriotism, reason, and our civic pride. So for whom was that lesson?" The same thoughts are expressed in the letter from A. Panasenko, a war invalid and labor veteran from the city of Kosiavl: "To whom should democracy and openness be taught? The young people who went to the defense of a historic monument, or the gorispolkom in the person of its chairman and deputies? It is very important that the question posed in the caption -- A Lesson for Whom? -- be answered loudly and honestly."

These are offensive, severe questions that are more like judgments. The search for answers will not be easier. But they must be found.

On April 13 a Leningrad party obkom buro meeting took place at Smolnyy which, among other things, examined the question "The State of Affairs Regarding the Preservation and Reconstruction of Cultural and Historic Monuments in Connection with Statements Appearing in the Central and Local Press."

In reporting on the buro, one could have limited oneself to the usual communique: A serious discussion took place, certain ideas were expressed, and appropriate decisions were adopted -- and it would all have been true. But not complete. I was forced to think about this by a segment of a conversation heard the next morning when the report about the buro meeting appeared in the local newspapers:

"Well, how did it end?"

"Things were pointed out," was the ironic reply.

I thought with disappointment: Is this all that bothered them? Is this the way we are going to measure movement -- by the number of removed, lowered, or suspended reprimands? Is that all that is needed? On the other hand, what else can be shared and what is there to think about if the grossly inadequate communiques have no other information that is worthy of consideration? So it is not the readers who are to blame. Unfortunately, we writers still don't know how to share with people that information which they need most. We do not try to break our own and foreign stereotypes as regards to what they need to know and what they should not know, apparently on the assumption that now at a time of openness, the ability to read between the lines must be perfected. Openness is surely important not only as a megaphone directed at the public. It is also a method of publicly defending a point of view and the right of the public to know, judge, and influence the selection of positions taken.

Invited to attend the bureau meeting were supervisors from all organizations that in one way or other were concerned with the question scheduled on the agenda, including a representative of IZVESTIYA. In a background of outward similarity and obligatory references to openness and restructuring, fundamentally different approaches clearly emerged in the course of the conversation (which lasted for several hours). First: Find the reasons behind the protests and find out how to protect oneself against future mistakes. Second: Find the proof of one's infallibility and -- the inevitable consequence! -- find the guilty persons. Later we shall talk about what it was that dictated such diverse approaches. Now, however, it is important to realize how different the consequences of those approaches would be. If the first viewpoint were to be recognized as the correct approach, then one would have to make a radical review of the work method and style of the administrative organs. This would entail a complex of questions. If the second approach were taken as the correct one, one would have to adhere firmly to the tested line of action which would go into the questions such as who went out to the square? Where was the militia? What kind of presumptions is the press making?...

Here are few excerpts from that discussion:

Chief of the party obkom's department of propaganda and agitation G. I. Barinova, after having analyzed the events, asked:

"Could this situation have been avoided? Yes, if changes dictated by the times were made in the actions and work style of the ispolkom and its subdivisions and if we had learned how to tell the truth to the people..."

A. S. Tumanov, party obkom secretary in charge of construction asked the question:

"What do you mean when you say telling the truth?"



"When the young people who were attempting to halt the demolition came to the Leningrad Soviet, what were they told? "We'll look into it!" And right there and then, one hour later, the building was demolished. To put it mildly, they were duped..."

Chief of the party obkom Department of Construction M. A. Gubkin turned to the history behind this question: When and how was the building constructed. What kind of alterations were made. What was gained and lost by the building in this process, and something about the great deal of work undertaken by the Main Architectural Planning Administration...After the usual repetition of "the correct decision was taken," the first secretary of the CPSU obkom Yu. F. Solovyev interrupted:

"In times gone by you could have said that everything was correct. But today..."

The speaker agreed: "Yes, today under the conditions of openness..." and once again the conversation gradually got down to specifics, i.e., the instructions that were issued, the role of the legal services, the Leningrad Scientific-Research Institute for Planning, and the Intourist association...

"The question is not whether it was right or wrong to demolish the building," said the first secretary. "Now we have another more serious question: Why did young Leningradians oppose that decision? What caused their distrust?"..

Will those questions be answered by the city's chief architect, S. I. Sokolov?

"In December I took some definite steps to notify city residents about the decision that was taken. On March 5 I submitted an article to LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA but it wasn't published until March 17."

A question calling for clarification:

"I have in my hands a drawing which depicts how the building would look after reconstruction. Does the drawing completely correspond to the appearance of the demolished building?"

"That is one of the versions."

"That is to say what?"

"We looked at several alternatives. On April 5, we conclusively decided..."

Take note of the dates: The building was demolished on March 17 and the plan was approved on April 5. What was it that the chief architect brought to the newspaper on March 5? What kind of truth was he about to snare with the city's residents exactly one month before the final decision was made?

A question from bureau member and chairman of the oblast trade union V. I. Korznov:

"Now for 20 days there has been all this commotion -- pickets, collection of signatures, articles in the press...So what were you waiting for? Why didn't you yourselves go out to the street and to the people?"

"We put two display stands out on the square..."

"Sure, but they didn't believe your pictures! There was no one gathered around the stands which you stuck near the fence. Everything was revolving around the young fellows. What were you waiting for?"

"I gave eight news items to the newspapers, and I appeared on television and radio two times, but to stand on the square..." this was followed by a gesture expressing a whole gamut of feelings, including insult and astonishment.

"But it was necessary to stand on the square, it was necessary!" Yu. F. Solovyev firmly recapitulated. "You had so many people over there -- rayon architects, planning organization specialists!..You should have gone to the people, listened to them, and convinced them. Incidentally, did you go to their 'headquarters'?"

"I invited them to the Main Architectural Planning Administration."

"And why didn't they invite you? Because you yourself don't go to the House of Culture where they meet? You made a mistake and you should have corrected it."

"I don't believe I made a mistake in the town-planning sense. As for the young people, one should take another look..."

What is true is true -- it all depends on how you look at it. One could look at it through the eyes of veterans. Here there is an amazing characteristic of that mail: Most of the letters in support of the young people and thoughts about the motives behind their actions came, strangely enough, from veterans. Yes, strange indeed. In other instances a complete accord of views has been extremely rare. We shall cite one of those letters, a letter from docent B. Frezinskiy from the Institute of Communications imeni Bonch-Bruyevich: "For many years the country was saying one thing, thinking another thing, but doing something else. As a result a generation of people grew up who were concerned only with themselves and were devoid of any public interests. But then when things started to change it turned out that among the quite young there were some who were not indifferent to everything and who were not only concerned about their own future, but the future of our remarkable city. There was an opportunity to help gather momentum for their movement! That didn't happen. Moreover, everything was done to put the youth down to let them know that the problems of the city were none of their business. The tragedy of it all is that a significant part of the population doesn't feel that much need for genuine culture and is quite content to have substitutes. That is why I was so happy to see the active movement of the young people and their efforts to save the Delvig house and how they were partially successful in that effort, and now they tried to save the Angleterre -- without success, however."

But one could also eye the youngsters' actions with some suspicion -- and there are reasons for doing so. On, how wonderful it would all seem if only one could prove that it was not true that someone who "is not one of us" was standing behind the youngsters and pulling strings. I had occasion to hear such intimations from various people and they also appeared in some of the city newspapers. But... They remain intimations. There are no facts. What we have then is merely a great period of testing where old answers are given to new questions borne of the process of democratization. It is therefore no accident that the obkom first secretary spoke so heatedly on this point: "What are you saying, these youth are foreigners and not ours? The youngsters went out to defend something which they felt was valuable to them...I can just imagine what would have happened if someone were given free rein but no information about what was happening was offered by the mass information media -- in an instant some of speakers here would have gone out to the square and would have made short work of the protesters..."

On the day after the buro meeting I went to the square. Behind the fence that now enclosed a gaping empty lot, machines were grumbling away as the remains of what was once the Angletierre were being loaded and hauled away. Stuck all alone near the fence was one of the two display stands mentioned by the architect. Neatly drawn lines, calligraphic handwriting, and officialese explanations... But the people were crowded around a homemade sign about 30 meters from the fence which read: "This vigil will continue until a decision is made to create a governmental commission." Girls were standing there with sheets of paper asking passers-by if they would like to sign a petition requesting the creation of a commission and the punishment of the guilty parties...A tall young man was talking about the history of the building and explaining why they were there and what they wanted. What, in fact? There was no building, so why the vigil? "We don't want something like this to happen again..."

It was now the end of the work day, people came and went, but that small spot in the corner of the square was never left empty. I looked over there and asked myself: And just where are the architects? Where is the Komsomol? Where are the officials of the All-Russian Society for the Preservation of Historical Monuments and Culture (VOUPIK)? Why are there some people, who, speaking frankly, at the risk of wrecking their lives, strive to prove their case and seek allies, while others only gossip about everything in their own or in someone else's offices?

Here is the chief of the State Inspectorate for the Preservation of Architectural and Artistic Monuments, I. P. Sautov, whose very position calls for him to be the first defender of historical treasures, and this is what his reasoning was at the buro meeting:

"This movement has no force, there are only a few persons who are running the show. They don't want to work with their hands...In my opinion, they have a quite different purpose: to carry out their own personnel policy of removing certain people from office. Today the preservation of monuments constitutes an entire sector..."

"Never mind about sectors. Your viewpoint: What should be done to prevent this from happening again?"

"It's true that our people are offering little information. But the newspapers are adding insult to injury by giving disinformation..."

Party obkom secretary A. Ya. Degtyarev asked the question:

"Tell me, is the list of monuments open or closed once and for all?"

"It is open."

"Then I have this question: If the people think that a certain building should be preserved, regardless of whether it is on the list or not, who should make the decision? Perhaps the people, the nation should anyway?"

"In ancient Russia the site of suicide victims was never considered to be sacred. But they even wanted to preserve Yesenin's room, and even the hook on which he hanged himself..."

Let's leave aside tragedies and sacred objects. More simply put, the question is who is to decide the fate of antiques? The chief of inspection for the preservation of monuments could not come up with an answer.

Academician B. B. Piotrovskiy, who heads the Leningrad branch of VOOPIK and who is an enthusiastic supporter of historical monuments, also has his own grudge against the young protesters. In these last few days Boris Borisovich and his assistants in the Society have had to hear and read quite a few sharp words. "Our VOOPIK is too "old-fashioned" and as such cannot be a protector in the present fight." Such is the opinion of the writer M. Chulaki as expressed in the youth journal SMEI. "One should recognize," wrote LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, "that the recent spontaneous youth movements and the informal groups were to a significant degree a result of the passivity of this society (VOOPIK -- author), the formalism of its operations, and its inability to attract active public, and particularly, young forces."

In addressing the buro of the obkom, B. B. Piotrovskiy admitted that young people don't want to work at the VOOPIK. The chairman put the blame for that on the youth themselves and pointed out negligence in upbringing and Komсомol shortcomings, but he didn't say a word about anything that the society he heads failed to do. As regards those who went out to the square, both in the press as well as here at the buro, Boris Borisovich could not conceal his irritation with those persons.

"I am sure that if the Angletterre had not been located in the center of the city with high visibility, they would not have raised such a tumult. Yes, and the press should not have reported this event in the tone that it did. One would very much wish that the press not imitate the bourgeois press..."

Ispolkom chairman V. Ya. Khodyrev, who was the next speaker, gave special attention to relations with the press. That address was reminiscent of many



official answers given to any particular newspaper item. The principle was simple: Agree to something, admit that there were some shortcomings and miscalculations, offer assurances about the conclusions drawn from those mistakes, but...And here, after the "but" there are all kinds of roads that are open. The most well beaten path is to evade the essence of the conversation, like going along a desert road with road signs, then mark time by circling around some word, dig something up, and cast doubts on some fact.

The chairman, of course, is for openness, and he was not accusing the press in general. According to him the local means of information quite objectively reported this story, but the central press... The chairman's bias was completely understandable. While the city press delicately shied away from making any judgments, the central press sharply criticized the attitude and actions of both the ispolkom in general and those of V. Ya. Khodyrev personally...

"How is one supposed to perceive this kind of statement in the press: 'Many masterpieces of Leningrad now face the same threat that hung over the Angleterre'..."

The tone with which this citation from an article in STROITELNAYA GAZETA was reproduced presumed that the commentary was excessive, so much so that the accusations were deemed ludicrous. We are not about to repeat the arguments cited in the same newspaper by Academician D. Likhachev and other respected scholars. We shall only refer to the Leningrad press for the facts. Here is merely a list of the "signals" and objects: The newspaper LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIIY has long since been sounding an alarm about the menacing condition of a number of buildings, including the Sheremetev Palace in whose wing, incidentally, A. Akmatova once lived. The youth paper SMENA recently reported the havoc suffered by another monument, the Murin church. Leningrad television has on a number of occasions raised the question of the improper use of many architectural masterpieces whose tenants are causing irreparable damage in a number of cases. It is noteworthy that the Leningrad gorispolkom has not been able to implement its own ten-year old decision to vacate the Stroganov Palace, associated with names like Rastrelli and Voronikhin, and transfer the palace to the Russian Museum. Buildings that are in a disastrous condition include the house of Domenico Trezzini, Peterburg's first architect, the building at No 11 Vladimir Street where the literary glory of Dostoevsky was begun. Unfortunately, the list could go on.

"I particularly want to say something about the articles in IZVESTIYA. I don't understand at all the attitude of a newspaper that so easily and precisely poses the question: 'But in the palace across the way...' And just who is there. There are deputies there who have always struggled and protected monuments..."

As you can see, words in articles have been found with which attempts are made to drown the conversation in details. But the hunt has been clearly unsuccessful. The words "but in the palace across the way" can also be taken literally: The ispolkom actually is located across the way in a former palace. But the chairman is correct. The word "palace" was not randomly used, but in order to emphasize a suddenly revealed secret -- that it is not

the deputies, no, but the apparatus personnel who do not wish to consider themselves to be servants of the people, and to emphasize their inability to evaluate a situation and act upon it.

"Or the liberty taken by the expression 'the chairman and his surroundings.' What does 'surroundings' mean?...I am for openness, but for collective openness. Criticism is criticism, but it must be objective..."

Well, then, openness must actually reflect various points of view. There are no two opinions about that. But what is the chairman holding back as he criticizes the newspaper? He passes over the persistent requests of the IZVESTIYA correspondent to receive him and to answer the questions that are of concern to both those who are at the square and to those who have gathered today at Smolnyy. The chairman has refused to do that and limited his telephone response to: "Everything was done correctly." A random detail? Unfortunately, judging by the statements, there has been no change in V. Ya. Khodyrev's adherence to a "forceful" style of relationship, just as there has been no wavering in either the events themselves, the repercussions, or even the course of the bureau meeting and its dominant moods and judgments. The bureau of the CPSU obkom pointed out to the leadership of the ispolkom (comrades V. Ya. Khodyrev, B. A. Surovtsev, and V. I. Matviyenko) the need for a radical restructuring of their work style and methods. The question as to whether they are ready to do so remains unanswered.

Each of us on this day proved his own experience, intellect, and social perception. Democracy brings universal benefits, but can also turn into a personal drama. Oh, now difficult it is to break oneself out of the medium of ossified dogmas, like breaking a cockle-shell made of stone! To reduce everything to arm-chair responsibility is to simplify life: We will not deny a person who has power the right to fear untested solutions. Is it easy to see a crowd suddenly under one's own windows, and not on television, and answer the question what is to be done here? Restructuring is acutely complicating life for the administrative authorities. It is not enough that completely new problems must be faced, but in addition it is necessary to operate not in the quiet of offices, but in the whirlpool of passions, in full view, under the heat of questions, judgments, and criticism...is that easy to do?

It is incredibly difficult! But there is no other choice. We often ask ourselves with alarm: Where is the guarantee that restructuring will not be reversible? And we bind our hopes to new laws, economic mechanisms, and electoral voting. That's the way it is. But it is the people who interpret the laws, adjust the machinery, and conduct elections. Each person is given the chance to become accustomed to changes and to put criteria in order. And no one has the right to be obstinate by willingly or unwillingly sanctioning that which the party and the society are striving to eliminate. Not only does pandering to the advocates of the old ways undermine people's faith and divide them into opposing sides, but there is also the threat of attempts, at times uncontrolled, to return to the old ways. And it is no accident that the first secretary of the obkom, in summing up the results of the day, will begin with the words: "The discussion has shown that we are not yet ready for restructuring and for an expansion of democracy..."

A lesson for whom? ask our readers. I believe a lesson for all of us, without exception. This has been one more lesson of restructuring. It was not the first and will not be the last. There is also a reflection of triumph in the mutual defeat near the Angleterre: The building was demolished, but all of us have strengthened hopes for the triumph of public opinion which is reflected by both the tone of the discussion and the conclusions drawn. The fundamental party position taken by the bureau of the CPSU Leningrad obkom can serve as a guarantee that this type of thing will not happen again. We are learning by our own mistakes and those of others. It is a difficult task. Gold is panned as the sand is washed away...

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YOUTH PAPER DESCRIBES ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN IN BELORUSSIAN TOWN

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14, 15 Feb 87

[Article by V. Konovalov and M. Serdyukov: "Seven Days in the Life of Captain Afonin"]

[14 Feb 87 p 4]

[Text] Gomel Oblast--The former children gathered near the Detskiy Mir [Children's World] store at 1000 in the morning. Some were laughing, and some were silent. The girls seeing them off were cheerless. A special bus rolled up:

"Will there be room for everyone? If not the garage supervisor will get upset. Don't we need another bus? My aunt found out this morning who I would be driving, and just let out a whistle -- 'You'll never carry all of them,' she said"

"Hold your tongue," Ivan Khomchenko, first secretary of the Komsomol gorkom, snapped at the driver and turned toward Detskiy Mir. "Is everybody assembled? Take your places."

Five jaunty young men noisily took their seats in the bus. The driver looked at them with curiosity and stepped on the gas.

Few in the city knew where they were going and why. But the people at the criminal investigation section knew.

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Since morning we had been looking for poppies. Not the kind which are sprinkled on a roll to make it spicy. We were only interested in the "seed pods." They contain the "kaif".

At 0900 near Building No 92 in Yakimovaya Sloboda we were, so to speak, awaited. After suspiciously looking us over, two obvious city types, the lady seemed to understand everything. But just to be sure she asked: "From far away?"



"From the rayon center, we're locals," we joked.

She gave a short, distrustful smile; this woman knew her local clients.

"Yes, we're Muscovites," we admitted, pinned to the picket fence by her gaze.

"The capital!" she winked cheerfully. "I get it. Poppies don't grow in the Arbat. I know your guys from Leningrad, and from Riga, to say nothing of our own people. But I don't have any more poppies. Even a Georgian came from the Caucasus and promised good money. All I could do was refuse. Afonin doesn't let me earn a living."

"And who is he?"

"You'd be better off not to meet him. But I can advise you to go further away from the city. There are still the towns of Yelany and Khutor. People there will help you."

We were not able to solve the problem on the first try. But we were told who the "good" people to go to were.

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By 1000 Afonin looked grim; he was tired, but the day was just beginning. The six nights spent in stakeout had not been any pleasure to the head of criminal investigation of the Svetlogorsk GROVD [city-rayon department of internal affairs]. He had not been able to catch the criminals in the act. He knew them by sight. But they also knew who they were dealing with.

The telephone jangled: a barn had been broken into and a moped stolen -- find it immediately, and so on. The usual day was beginning.

"Vasya," militia Captain Afonin said to operational agent Vasiliy Dikun. "I know all about it, but I have to get some rest. Check it out and report back in two hours."

Two hours later Dikun had arrested the burglar.

"Take a break until evening," Afonin said in gratitude, "but at 2200 we meet at the old place."

He was talking about the seventh night of the stakeout...

Svetlogorsk is truly, as the name suggests, a happy city. And perhaps that is why the group of young city girls in black dresses stood out so on the street.

At first passers-by turned around, puzzled: why would they be in mourning? But the word soon spread all over town that the trial of the first "narcotics cooks" in the history of Svetlogorsk, that is, people who made and sold narcotics, had just ended. The women in black dresses on the street were friends of the people who were convicted. Of course, the separation facing them was not that long. And the girls hardly resembled real mourners.

Rather they acted assertively: our guys were punished unfairly, they said, don't stop us from enjoying ourselves in the way we want to.

That first trial caused a great deal of commotion, not even considering the thoughtless girls' play at mourning. The reverberations became much more serious when new criminal cases started one after the other against local drug addicts. People began talking about Svetlogorsk, and the tone of these conversations was not very pleasant to the inhabitants of the city. Indeed, why had a small rayon center suddenly become the virtual epicenter of drug addiction in the whole oblast? And the statistics on this alarming phenomenon for the whole republic now make the city stand out that much more.

What happened in Svetlogorsk? Who is to blame for the fact that drug addicts unexpectedly blossomed out there? Who should be held responsible? These questions are being asked today as well. Therefore we will postpone the answers a bit. And in the meantime let us return to the entryway where Afonin was on stakeout for the seventh night in a row.

He knew that Aleksey Sergeyev and Gennadiy Domnich had recently been shooting up opium regularly. He knew that younger people were hanging around with them, ones who possibly had not made the decision to take the first injection, but were close to it. Therefore time could not be lost. What could follow was clear from the example of Sergeyev and Domnich. It had not been that long before that they had taken the first needle into their hands. And now?

Alesha Sergeyev was known as the pride of Svetlogorsk. At 15 years old he was a master of sport in swimming and a member of the national team. He participated in international competition. He sat and ate breakfast at the same table with the great Salnikov. He was a strong, well-trained, and good-hearted young man. That was not very long ago.

He is now emaciated and emotionally worn. He has a hard time coming back after drug doses. And he immediately dashes off to find a new batch of raw material.

And Domnich? He graduated from secondary school with honors, and was admitted to Leningrad Medical Institute. Intelligent, educated. Where did it all go? Other than the thirst for opium, his eyes show only sadness.

But of course, they had tutors at one time, friends who were experienced in this slow form of suicide and gave them needles. And now Domnich and Sergeyev themselves can do the same. They are dangerous now, and not just to themselves.

...A door slammed below. Afonin froze, pressing against the dark wall. The apartment where the addicts had gathered was one floor below. The only thing was that they could check on whether there was a stakeout. They had already been clever enough to conceal themselves from people, and from the law.

But from the unsteady, although noisy footsteps, and then from the song that was struck up and grew in fervor with every step, Afonin knew that this was a different kind. This guy had gotten drunk for the night somewhere, and now

was coming home. I'd like to slap you down, fellow, Afonin thought, but I can't reveal myself. Then the song stopped just as suddenly as it had begun; apparently the man had made it to his apartment and, meeting his wife, was no longer interested in singing. Finally the lock clicked and it was quiet again.

Obviously, there is not much fun in spending the night alone in an entryway. Afonin, however, was not alone. He not only knew but could almost feel how concentrated and intense Dikun and Veresov were in the car, which was pulled into the driveway of the building. And although they have a radio, it will not be needed when they have to take action. Each member of the group knows his maneuver.

And that is how it should be, not just in this operation. At the present time, it is true that only Afonin, or rather only the criminal investigation section, is prominent in the fight against the Svetlogorsk drug addicts. His associates identify and detain those who have prepared the narcotics and attract new kids to drugs.

But the fight in Svetlogorsk is not against drug addicts, it is against addiction. The criminal investigation section is in the public eye because at the present time this is the most effective form of the struggle here. At present it is the most active. The only thing is that this activism is not by choice. Afonin by no means needs to fulfill some kind of plan for arresting drug addicts; there is no such plan. No one will hold Afonin responsible if not a single drug addiction case is started in the city. He would be glad to work on other cases which are, in his opinion, more appropriate to the section. After all, the militia today are not receiving statements against drug addicts. The users themselves naturally are quiet about their activities. Neither do their parents want publicity, even if they can guess about their children's entertainment. Neighbors and public opinion are not expressing indignation. So, take it easy, Afonin: stick with thieves, swindlers, murderers, and rapists. In short, work on the cases that you can be held responsible for, cases that have to be started and require an investigation.

Afonin does not want to take it easy. And he will not let others. He has been able to convince many in the city: if we close our eyes today to an evil that is not directly alarming, tomorrow it may become a threat from which we cannot hide. There will be more concerns for everyone, including Afonin himself. After all, the drug addict is quiet and goes unnoticed for a time. When the time between doses becomes shorter and there are more users of the poison, this means that access to the narcotic becomes harder and the drug addict will stop at nothing, not even the most terrible crime. Of course, the use of narcotics and becoming an addict is already a crime, both against oneself and against society. This illness must not begin.

Afonin was able to persuade many people of this. In fact, at first he had to convince his friends. Comrades from his Komsomol youth. Party workers Vasilii Nekrashevich, Viktor Zvyagin, and Sergey Paduta -- with Afonin they form a group. At one time they worked together in the Komsomol. They founded the Coliseum stage and entertainment club for young people, the most popular

in the city. They searched for and found new kinds of leisure time activities for young people. They fought hooligans. They combined the qualities of formal and informal leaders.

Captain Afonin is already familiar to our readers. The "Conversationalist" feature told the story of one of his arrest operations. At that time Afonin had just begun working as head of the criminal investigation section. Since then there have been many chases, fights with armed bandits, and critical situations where training, endurance, and boldness decided everything. But boldness is needed not just when arresting a criminal, but also in the affairs of everyday life. Here again Afonin found himself at the crossroads of problems which are especially critical today.

Afonin went to his old friends then for advice and help. He was not the only one; everyone in the city could see that a new group of young people had formed, a group of drug addicts. Guys and girls with misty eyes, but without any of the signs of alcoholic intoxication, came to dances and gathered in the evenings at the chemical workers' Palace of Culture. After the discotheque needles, cotton, and poppy cuttings would be found thrown around the bathrooms of the houses of culture. The young addicts were practically injecting themselves in public. But people tried not to notice.

Afonin told his friends that there had been enough self-deception. It was time to recognize the evil, he said, and then it could be fought.

We should note that this was even before people began talking openly about drug addiction in the country, before the term itself began to be used with reference to more than "their morals."

This was another way that the situation in Svetlogorsk attracted us.

Afonin and his friends were supported here. In Svetlogorsk they decided to uncover, not cover up, the evil. The issue of drug addiction in the city was brought to a session of the bureau of the party gorkom. At that time even such an agenda could be frightening, to say nothing of the discussion itself. They were not frightened. People spoke frankly. They worked out a plan for the campaign. Many institutions and offices in the city became involved in the work, or at least in the plan.

...Afonin looked at his watch. Five thirty in the morning. The seventh sleepless night in a row was having its effect. His eyelids were getting very heavy. It's not right!

"Fire!" Afonin commanded himself. This favorite command of his was given symbolically, as usual. The head of the criminal investigation section could shoot without a miss, but he did it mostly at the target range. He preferred to take criminals without using weapons. But his friends and associates knew this usage of Afonin's well. It was what he said when he had to mobilize himself, cast aside everything else and focus entirely on the job.

And this time too he drove off the creeping sleepiness at once. Operational work, even where you were tracking drug-deluded young people instead of



hardened professional criminals, did not tire Afonin very much. But the next day would be the same as usual, and in addition there was a lecture at a children's polyclinic. He would have to be in good form.

Employees of the criminal investigation section hold such meetings in general secondary and vocational-technical schools and at enterprises literally every day. They talk about the dangers of drug addiction, and try hard to recruit allies in the fight against it. And they are very short of allies. Certainly the drug addict must be isolated, for his own benefit and for the safety of those around him. But this should not be the concern of the militia alone or first of all. Drug addicts and should be treated. But who should do it, and where? There are only a handful of specialists in the republic, not to talk of the city. There are no reliable instruments that analyze the state of narcotic intoxication and the classes of narcotics. There is not a single special preventive clinic in all Belorussia. The medical specialists who should be consulting and giving qualified advice to criminal investigation workers are themselves "discovering America" with the help of Afonin and his associates.

So there is a lecture tomorrow. Isn't it ironic that he, the head of a criminal investigation section, will tell professional doctors what drug addiction is, what its symptoms and consequences are, and how drug addicts are treated?

It does sometimes reach a ridiculous point, but one needs to cry, not laugh. When one of the first drug addicts was sent for treatment this unusual patient was met very cautiously at the hospital; they did not know how to approach him. But the addict took a needle and some cans out of his pack in a business-like way and arranged them in the nightstand.

"What is that for?" the doctors inquired hesitantly.

"I suffer from an allergy," the patient explained. "I have to give myself an injection every day."

So he went ahead and injected himself for several days before the treating doctors finally figured out that their patient was happily combining drug addiction treatment with regular use of narcotics.

What about the parents of drug addicts? That is who ought to be the most interested ally of the people fighting against drug addiction. But no such luck! It's a disgrace, you see. Or else they do not want to admit that their darling is on the brink of disaster. Afonin has had many difficult talks with Sergeyev's mother. No matter how much he argues with her that her son is in danger, she is hurt and responds: why do they persecute her Alesha?!

...It was already completely light, and Afonin gave a sigh: this marked the start of the second week of the stakeout. Just then a very unique odor wafted up from the apartment below. They had started making the drug there.

Afonin and his comrades showed up at the door simultaneously. They must not waste time. Nor could they count on the hospitality of the apartment-

dwellers. Dikun flew into the apartment together with the door. The others followed him. They caught the kids at the height of their work, red-handed.

So the operation had ended. But there was nothing to be happy about. Certainly a few more addicts are now isolated. But this will not solve all the problems. What will happen to them?

Dogs seldom like uninvited guests. But this one simply went wild at our appearance in the yard. He darted back and forth barking hoarsely, never taking his hate-filled eyes off us. We stayed near the gate and tried to figure out if the dog would be able to get to the path to the house on the full length of its chain.

A stupid situation. The door was slightly open, so the owner was home. But for some reason he was in no hurry to come out. Curious people were already starting to look over from neighboring yards. But it made no sense for us to draw attention to ourselves.

Finally! The door flew open. An old man came out, leaning on a stick. He snapped a word at the dog and it was as if a loudspeaker was unplugged -- silence. He looked at us good-naturedly: "What do you need, boys?"

We got right to the point: "We'd like some poppies, old fellow. Are you selling?"

"They've come again!" There was no trace left of the good-natured look on his face. "Well, what do you want?"

"What's the matter? This is our first time here, we're not locals..."

"I know you. Get out of here! I don't have any poppies."

"We need them for experiments, you don't think...?"

"What kind of experiments?! You're those...what do they call you? Addicts! Go on, get out of my yard!"

[15 February 1987 p 4]

That was a "tip" for you! But after all we received our guidance from a woman who had already been "marked" by the militia and therefore was now a former supplier of narcotics from Yakimovaya Sloboda. She assured us that in the town of Khutor we would certainly get some poppies.

...The "tip" given to Oleg Sluka, our "colleague" in the business, did not work out either. He went much further from our rayon center, had already walked around two villages, but was still "empty." It was worse for him, however. We were "runners," but he was looking for poppies for himself. He had run out the day before, and Oleg was torn, shaken. He did not even have the strength to talk, let alone persuade the owners. But there was nowhere to turn. He went further and further...

Before us was the town of Yelany. And there we nearly fell into a trap. The friendly woman of the house invited us in and set the table, then she herself ran to the militia. We barely got out of there.

On the way back we stopped at the office of the Svetlogorsk Sovkhoz. Yaroslav Vasilyevich Vodenchuk, the secretary of the party committee, put up his guard when we began telling him about our experiment. But then he smiled with relief when he heard that no conspiring poppy growers had been found on the territory of his farm.

"So what happened, Yaroslav Vasilyevich? Why did all of our secret meetings fall through? After all, we were following proven routes."

"Well," he said, raising a finger. "A lot has changed here in this year. You know, when the first 'runners,' that is poppy buyers, appeared in the rayon no one had any idea of what they needed poppies for. No one even heard of drug addiction in our area. So many owners were glad to sell, or even give the poppy seed pods to them -- they are no use on the farm. Of course, there were also some who knew very well that they were involved in a shady business. All the same they entered into a conspiracy with the 'runners,' and planted poppies specially on order. But when the whole commune rose up to fight drug addiction those people were immediately obvious, and then it was easy to stop their 'business.' To be honest, we were afraid at first that if we started telling people about drug addiction, about how the narcotic could be made from ordinary poppies that grow in practically every yard, that there would be some among us who would want to try it out of curiosity. But it's clear now that people did the right thing. You have seen for yourselves that it isn't easy for a 'runner' to find the merchandise, not only on our farm but throughout the whole rayon."

Yaroslav Vasilyevich was right that it was not easy. But it was still possible. We were able to learn that for ourselves too.

And that fact that there are still sources of raw materials for local addicts and runners from outside is certainly not because the local organs of law and order are not doing a good job. They have undertaken a broad campaign against drug addiction in Svetlogorskiy Rayon. There is frank discussion of this in the newspapers, on the radio, at rural assemblies, and in the labor collectives. Even the oldest man in the most remote town now knows what evil can be done with the poppy seed pods he sells to them. The rural Soviets, precinct militiamen, people's guards, and operational Komsomol detachments are monitoring poppy growing...

But can the city and the rayon do everything?

..."We adopted a resolution to ban poppy planting in the rayon," we were told by Aleksandra Ivanovna Prosina, chairwoman of the Svetlogorskiy rayispolkom. "This is no loss at all for the population. After all, poppies were planted in our yards mainly for their beauty. Culinary needs are completely taken care of by the stores. But our resolution still didn't take care of the problem; it is not backed up by the law. You know, we do not have the right

to punish people for raising and selling poppies. We can only destroy plantings that we find."

"But a seed pod supplier can safely conceal his plantings, if he wants, far from the building area. Then just try and find them and prove that they belong to him. And if you do prove it, there still isn't any accountability, except we have the right to give a slap on the wrist to a dangerous dealer, someone who plants poison. To establish accountability for the production and sale of narcotic raw material requires a special Ukase of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet amending the law. And poppy planting in private plots could be prohibited not just in one rayon, but everywhere. And special departments could be set up to raise poppies at a few farms. It would be easy to watch and guard these plantings. We have presented this suggestion. Of course, there has been no result yet."

Why are they delaying with the decision? It is probably because they still do not see sufficient grounds for even the minimal efforts needed to organize poppy planting in the republic. And in fact, why should the garden be guarded? Is the situation that serious?

The status of drug addiction in Belorussia is in fact relatively good in comparison with other regions of the country. Even Svetlogorsk, which has received such publicity, only stands out against the background of other Belorussian cities and rayons where things are perfectly quiet and smooth. According to statistics.

But even in Svetlogorsk these statistics could be much more favorable if the local leaders were afraid of washing dirty linen in public. And is there any reason to hope that the trouble will go away, if there are already bitter reproaches for getting active too late? Is it possible to wait and do nothing until the moment where it is simply no longer possible to remain idle?

And yet, for some reason, these lucky neighbors are not sharing the know-how in preventive work that has saved them from bad-looking statistics with the Svetlogorsk people; on the contrary, they are calling on Svetlogorsk for know-how. The party gorkom, rayispolkom, and internal affairs department receive letters from Borsuysk, Grodno, and other oblasts, cities, and rayon centers in Belorussia. They ask what measures are effective in the fight against drug addiction, and now the preventive system is working. Isn't that strange? To judge by statistics the situation with drug addiction in Svetlogorsk is far worse than in the other places; but those others are learning from Svetlogorsk. And it may well be that there are some things that should be learned. If nothing more, not to be afraid of statistics that could cast a shadow on your reputation. Not to be afraid, but to use statistics as a reliable and objective guideline. To learn from Svetlogorsk means above all to support them in the fight they have begun.

...Sluka got up early. He had a longer trip to make this day than the day before. To a different rayon. There could be no mistakes there.



Not delaying he and his comrades headed for an apartment where they could prepare narcotics uninterrupted because the owners were gone. Sluka gave his pouch to the friend to carry; he himself did not want to risk it. And also he was a novice, had never injected himself at all, and had just now made up his mind.

Not far from the building Sluka noticed a militia car. A stakeout?

"Go into the entryway," he ordered his partner. "I'll check it out."

He headed toward the car with a leisurely step. While passing it he glanced in with a nonchalant air. The militiaman was sitting with a girl, had his arm around her shoulder, and was talking excitedly about something, taking no notice of anything else.

"They're fooling around," Sluka realized. "Well, now's the time for us."

Nonetheless, out of caution he went in the neighboring entryway, to make his way over to the necessary apartment through the attic. He glanced out the window from the top landing, just in case, and froze: the militiaman who had just been talking to the girl in the car was walking quickly out of the entryway with Sluka's pouch.

At home Afonin was already waiting for Sluka.

Yes, in Svetlogorsk they keep track not just of every drug addict, but also those who are dangerously close to the needle. Not only do Afonin and his associates monitor them, but the entire population is educated about the symptoms of drug addiction and the signs of drug manufacturing. It is not easy to obtain, manufacture, and use the drug there. Therefore the addicts travel to other rayons. But aren't there local addicts there? Perhaps there are in fact special reasons that drug addicts are "raised" in Svetlogorsk in particular?

Afonin's deputy and fellow fighter Valentin Golovach was promoted, to a different rayon. Before his arrival there, according to statistics, they had no drug addiction at all. Suddenly drug addiction cases began to be started in the rayon, one after the other. Where did they come from? Golovach did not bring them with him from Svetlogorsk. That is, there were addicts there; they simply were unable to notice and identify them and did not know how to fight them.

It is hard for an addict in Svetlogorsk today. It will become even harder when people everywhere take up the matter with the same energy and high principles and when the sources of narcotic raw materials are restricted...

It is difficult, but still there are drug addicts in the city. And they are not just the ones who cannot refuse the intoxicant. New ones are appearing, and very young ones. Why is this? We unexpectedly had a chance to talk about this with the addicts themselves.

In the evening we found a note in the door of our hotel room: "We know why you have come. And if you want to know our opinion, come to the chemical workers' Palace of Culture tomorrow evening at 2000. Make sure there's no militia. We will have a frank talk."

We arrived at the appointed place on time.

There was no one waiting for us. Not until 15 minutes later did a flock of young guys and girls appear around the corner. It appeared that they were finding out if we had a "tail."

"But let's agree from the start: no names," they warned us. "We have no use for publicity."

So then, no names it would be. And we had our conversation anonymously.

"Okay," said a young fellow with a punk haircut. "If you don't want us to shoot up, create conditions for us."

"So you're already using the needle?"

"Maybe I am, and maybe not. If we don't, we will. What else is there to do?"

"But you must go to school, work, read books, go to the movies..."

"What about the movies? Now me for example, I love to see a movie after shooting up -- there's more 'kaif.'"

"Well, what would you have to do so that you wouldn't want to shoot drugs?"

"Let the discotheque be open every day. It was before, but now it isn't."

"You mean if there isn't a discotheque you're going to shoot up? Is that the kind of condition you are posing?"

"Yes, we are offering that condition."

"To who?"

"To everyone."

We were silent.

"Kids, you yourselves suggested a frank conversation. But we've had some kind of childish talk: give me a discotheque or I'll shoot drugs; buy me a guitar or I'll shoot drugs..."

The "punker" was pushed aside by a guy who had been silent till now.

"Okay, the point isn't a discotheque, although we do need one."

"What is the point then?"

"It's something else. One guy starts shooting up because his girl deceived him. Another is insulted at work..."

"Or your parents bug you," the kids began to join in, "didn't get admitted to an institute...sick of work...bad mood...because everybody is telling lies...because it's in style..."

We talked for a long time. We wanted very much to understand these kids. We wanted to sympathize with them. But somehow it didn't happen.

The people we were talking with, no longer children at all, were putting on a show, saying that they were unable to handle really negligible arguments or minor inconveniences with dignity, except by forgetting themselves in a narcotic fog. They consider this stylish, not shameful.

The transitional age is not an easy time. Everyone has gone through its inevitable disillusionments and trials. But when and why did weakness of spirit and lack of will power become stylish, a "position?"

No, the trouble for the Komsomol gorkom is not that they do not know exactly which kids have already injected themselves and which are only preparing to. Ultimately Afonin will find out about this, and also medicine will learn. The trouble for the gorkom and for us is that these kids are this way, even without narcotics.

"But all the same, pass on our condition," the punker said on parting. "Let's have a discotheque opened."

As we walked back we passed colorful boards covered with posters. They called the young people of Svetlogorsk to attend clubs, activity circles and sections, recreation evenings, and a discotheque (not daily, it is true). We already knew about all this, and not just from posters.

Svetlogorsk is, generally speaking, a typical small city. But it is not typical in every way. Compared to many other rayon centers there are here many more different kinds of cultural-entertainment and sports organizations and activities. But what we see is that all these clubs, discotheques, and evening meetings by themselves are not yet the real work. They are only a base of operations for work with young people, work which must indoctrinate, not just entertain.

Criminal investigation section head Yuriy Afonin had perhaps never waited so impatiently for an operational report as he waited for the return of Ivan Khomchenko, first secretary of the Komsomol gorkom, from Gomel.

Khomchenko returned on the same bus that had left from the Detskiy Mir store in the morning.

"Everything is in order, Yuriy Aleksandrovich," Ivan said. "We put them all in one room. They seemed to be in an upbeat mood."

For Afonin this was the first sign. Even two signs at once.

In the first place five young men from Svetlogorsk had gone for treatment at their own request. That is one.

They convinced them to go to the Komsomol gorkom. The gorkom finally had contact with the addicts. That is two.

We recalled our talk with the anonymous group when we were at the Komsomol gorkom and heard about another, generally similar talk that had taken place recently. And practically at the same place, only it was not next to the Palace of Culture, but inside it.

The Komsomol gorkom had decided to organize a meeting not with the activists, as was usual, but on the contrary, with the "passivists," to invite those "unorganized" kids among whom, the gorkom believed, addicts occurred most frequently.

They came.

The discussion followed the same general course as ours had. Incidentally, just before the meeting sociologists conducted a survey among young people in the city. On the questionnaire a majority of the Svetlogorsk young people said that they did not have enough entertainment. What kind of entertainment? the moderators of the evening meeting asked the kids.

"We want a permanent discotheque."

"Well, let's organize one together at the young club. They already have a room. What is needed now is to think of how to decorate it, and what we will do there. Let's think together."

It appeared that they settled the discotheque matter. What else was there?

There were other conditions as well, behind which one could clearly hear: or else we will shoot drugs.

The kids by the Palace of Culture gave us this picture: we shoot up because we have nothing to do.

But maybe it is the other way around: you and I offered them this line, and they agreed? It proved convenient to them, not only as an explanation but also as a base of operations. We don't know whether a certain one among them has in fact tried the effect of drugs on himself. But it is clear that they have already understood that narcotics give them a strong argument. Now as soon as there is a pretext they state their conditions: give us a discotheque or we'll shoot drugs, and you know it; if you can't occupy and entertain us somehow, there is only one way left -- drug addiction.

Well now, what about Domnich and Sergeyev? Did they have nothing to do? Did they have to be entertained in some way to draw them away from narcotics?



Sergeyev did not have any time free of training, assemblies, and competition. I don't know about others, but he had every opportunity to engage in the sport that he was infatuated with -- he could spend whole days in the pool.

Domnich did not know what to do with himself? Broadly educated, a voracious reader, intelligent, a lively conversationalist, and an athlete. And after he was admitted to the institute, what can you say? Leningrad has places to go and things to see.

There is no doubt that we must look for new forms of leisure activity. We need more discotheques, clubs, gymnasiums, and athletic fields. But is this a serious argument to use against drug addiction?

Well now, Domnich and Sergeyev. What about the vast scale of drug addiction among young people in the West? There they have an entertainment industry that is organized on a broad scale -- even we could learn something from that.

The West, we usually say, is a completely different matter. And the causes of drug addiction there are completely different, and the scale of it is not the same. Those young people forget themselves in intoxication because of hopelessness, a lack of social ideals. That is not the case with us.

That is not the case, but what is the case? Indeed, the scale of our drug addiction is not comparable with the West. But if there is even a trend for addiction to grow here, that means there are reasons. Have any sociologists, psychologists, and philosophers looked seriously for them? Are they now?

Years of keeping silent about the evil led to a situation where, when people stopped being silent, they were not ready to fight the evil in important sectors. This is seen especially vividly today in medicine.

Aren't we losing time even today when we explain the causes of the evil, generally speaking, by the first thing that comes into our minds? Aren't we falling into self-deception again, first telling ourselves that there is no drug addiction and then deceiving ourselves about its causes?

Let's figure this out; let's talk frankly and openly. In the same way we talk today about the most serious, most pressing problems. And in this, of course, we cannot get by without thorough scientific analysis, without comprehensive study of the disturbing phenomenon. Practical workers, those who are fighting vigorously against drug addiction but would like to fight even more effectively, very much need the help of science today.

But in the meantime Ivan Khomchenko and his activists are searching hard for more interesting ways to fill up the adolescents' free time and involve them more in organizing their leisure hours. They have already opened a movie cafe, modern dance studio, aerobics section, and a gymnastics club in the city, and a young center with a videotheque will open its doors very soon. Will all this produce the desired result?

Criminal investigation head Afonin, knowing neither sleep nor leisure time, continues to put barriers in the Svetlogorsk young people's path toward

narcotics. He continues to explain to curious medical specialists how to recognize narcotic intoxication and how to do preventive work against adrug addiction. And he keeps close track of how the boys taking treatment in Gomel are doing.

For him the fate of these five is a kind of litmus test that could explain a great deal. By this method Afonin is not only testing the effectiveness of the doctors and their treatment methods, but also the kids themselves. After all, if they really do want to overcome their trouble, if they were drawn into drugs accidentally and regret it, then they will be cured and they can be believed. Then he, Afonin, will be able to put down a part of his burden.

The party gorkom has a coordinating council for prevention of and fighting drug addiction that meets regularly. Its sessions are not easy for the participants. They still have plenty of unsolved problems. And we have already talked about them. But the difficulties of the Svetlogorsk people are difficulties that many will encounter when they start to fight drug addiction in earnest. And the experience of Svetlogorsk tells above all that, no matter how hard it was, they were able to take this complex situation under control. Therefore this experience is worth looking at.

After returning to Moscow we telephoned to Svetlogorsk. The criminal investigation section chief's voice expressed concern: "Yes, we have news. The kids ran away from the hospital. All five returned home to Svetlogorsk."

Okay, Afonin, keep working. And how about the others?

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